The Outlook

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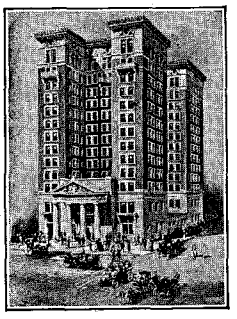

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1906

❀

An Indefensible Vote

The Senate Committee, by a vote of seven to six, has refused to report to the Senate, even without recommendation, the bill reducing the tariff on imports from the Philippine Islands. That is, the Committee not only refuses to give any relief to the Filipinos by opening to them, as subjects of the United States, the markets of the United States, but it refuses to allow the question whether they shall have such relief to be discussed in the open sessions of the Senate. The obstructive character of the Senate has had no more dramatic illustration lately than this action. The justice of this bill is so apparent to the Administration that it has been earnestly urged by the President, and we believe by all his Cabinet; and so apparent to the people that it passed the House of Representatives by the non-partisan vote of 258 to 71; and yet a Committee of the Senate refuses to allow the Senate to consider it. For the Committee refused to report the bill, even adversely. The votes against the proposition to put the bill before the Senate for consideration but without recommendation were those of Messrs. Hale, Burrows, Dick, and Brandegee, Republicans, and Messrs. Culberson, Du Bois, and Stone, Democrats. We hope that the local press will report the facts to their constituents, and that those constituents of these Senators who believe that the honor of the country is involved in giving our Filipino subjects a fair chance for industrial life will send their protests to the Senators who have misrepresented them. The only argument a Republican can make to justify this action is that the tariff is so fragile a house of cards that a discussion of any aspect of it may bring it tumbling down. What argument a Democrat can make to justify the action our imagination is not adequate to conceive. We believe that Senator Lodge, who has the bill in charge, can move to discharge the Committee from further consideration of the bill. Precedents are said to be against such a course; but fair play is worth more than precedents, and we hope that Mr. Lodge will make the motion and give the Senate a chance to put itself on record and the country a chance to see how its Senators stand on a question so vital to our commercial interests in the East and to our honor in the civilized world.

❀

Senator Foraker on Railway Rate Regulation

Senators rarely pay one of their number the compliment of a full house. They did so, however, last week to Senator Foraker, of Ohio, the galleries also being crowded, and gave close attention to a much-heralded speech from perhaps the most conservative opponent of railway rate regulation as intrusted to the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Mr. Foraker conceded that some railway evils exist; they were (1) excessive rates, (2) rebates, (3) discriminations. Under the first heading he found little to complain of; rebating, he said, was a more serious evil, and Mr. Foraker naturally traced the present railway consolidations to the fact that the Supreme Court decisions against pooling had left the railways without protection from rebates except to resort to some general understanding (like that, we suppose, upheld on the following day by the Supreme Court itself). As to discriminations, the speaker declared the power of the Elkins law to be as broad in remedying discriminations as to localities as it has been found to be in remedying discriminations as to persons. Though the Supreme Court has never passed on the question of the right of Congress to make rates, he

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believed that it would decide adversely; and such a decision would be fatal to the entire scheme of railway rate legislation now before Congress.

❀

An Estimate of his Argument

Respecting Senator Foraker's most fundamental contention, that the Supreme Court would hold the railway rate regulation bill to be unconstitutional on the ground that Congress has no power to regulate railway rates, The Outlook has simply to say that if it should so hold it would run counter, if not to its previous decisions, certainly to the trend of those decisions. For the Supreme Court has held that a State Legislature has power to regulate rates within the State, and it has also held that the Federal Government has all the powers over inter-State commerce which any sovereign nation can have over its railways, subject only to the express or necessary implied limitations imposed by the Constitution itself. It is difficult, in the light of these decisions, to see how it is probable that the Supreme Court would deny to the Federal Government the authority over inter-State commerce which it has declared is possessed by the State over State commerce. We think Congress has a right, in the light of these decisions, to assume the Constitutional power of the legislative body to enact that railway rates shall be just and reasonable, to define in general terms, as the pending bill does, what are just and reasonable rates, and to leave to the administrative department of the Government the application of these general principles to individual cases as they may arise. We certainly agree with Senator Dolliver, of Iowa, who in his reply to Senator Foraker declared it to be most important to know what power Congress had in regard to rate-making, and urged the passage of the pending measure for that purpose if for no other. The other question raised by Senator Foraker is more difficult; it is at least doubtful whether under the Constitution any department of the Government has a right to allow more favored rates to one port than to another, which is now done by the railways upon the plea that this is necessary to secure a distribution of the traffic and a consequent distribution of the prosperity which that traffic brings. But if it is unconstitutional for any department of the Government in its railway rate regulation to allow such differentials, it is at least questionable whether it is Constitutional for the Government to allow them to be made by the private corporations into whose hands have been intrusted the administration of the National highways. Certainly, if the traffic is to be distributed by artificial methods, such as discriminations in rates between different ports, such discrimination should be made by an organization which represents all the people of the United States rather than by one which represents special interests and special localities. Under any circumstances, said Mr. Foraker, the attempt to confer upon a body asserted to be administrative in character all three powers of the Government—legislative, judicial, and executive—"would be alarming if its utter unconstitutionality were not as apparent as its unreasonableness."

> It involves the general supervision by a political board, appointed by the President, of a business so tremendous as to be practically incomprehensible, and so complicated and difficult in its character as to be almost beyond the power of human intellect to master it, with authority to change rates with the stroke of a pen, affecting revenues to the extent of millions of dollars, and to make new regulations of every character affecting the operation of more than 200,000 miles of railways, and affecting also, because of their relations to the railroads and their dependence upon them, almost every other kind of important business conducted throughout the length and breadth of the country; and in this behalf this board, to the judgment of which these vast interests are to be subjected, is authorized to be legislator, prosecutor, judge, jury, and marshal all combined.

If, however, Congress has the power to fix rates, Mr. Foraker would still oppose any bill which would overturn the practice of granting differentials on export traffic, although he apparently admitted that the differential system violates the Constitutional provision prohibiting a preference in favor of the ports of one State over those of another State. Citing the differentials allowed, he declared them to be essential to the diffusion of the export traffic, yet they conflict with one

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of the purposes of those seeking the proposed legislation, which is to secure to each locality its own particular rightful advantages of location. Mr. Foraker then proclaimed the necessity of a more specific court review provision, in which contention many opposed to him on other grounds will agree.

❀

Amendments to the Hepburn Bill

There are two principal grounds for a judicial review, when properly challenged, of the Inter-State Commerce Commission's action: (1) the charge that the Inter State Commerce Commission has exceeded its Constitutional authority in making a rate that is wholly or partly confiscatory, thus invading the Constitutional rights of the appellant; (2) that it has misinterpreted and misapplied the law to the facts in the case before it. The chief question at issue between the radicals and conservatives is whether provision for appeal in the second class of cases shall be made in the bill. A second amendment which many Senators would like to see incorporated would eliminate the thirty-day provision regarding the effectiveness of the Commission's rate. A court might hold that thirty days was not a reasonable time, and a general policy might be inaugurated through the courts of staying all rates ordered by the Commission on the ground that the time allowed was too short. Moreover, a Commission competent to fix a maximum rate should be equally competent to determine the time when it shall go into effect. Thirdly, there is a strong movement in the line of the amendatory bill introduced by Senator Knox, of Pennsylvania, providing that when a stay has been granted a deposit or bond be given by the railways to pay the difference between the new Commission's rate and the one previously in force; a greater agreement among Congressmen, we believe, could be obtained for a provision requiring cash payment instead of a bond. The cash payment might have the virtue of acting as an additional deterrent. Senator Clay, of Georgia, has proposed an amendment prohibiting railways from dealing in coal, coke, or oil, and also prohibiting railway ownership of such properties except for supplying the railway's own needs. Railway officers are likewise forbidden to deal in or own such commodities or lands. Such an amendment would seem to meet Senator Foraker's criticism that the Hepburn Bill does not profess to prevent carriers from engaging in other kinds of business. Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, has also offered an amendment providing that coal-carrying railways shall not compete in the production and sale of commodities hauled over their own lines by private shippers. If these two latter amendments be made law, they might form a separate enactment.

❀

Pooling versus Rebating

Within a week of its important decision in the Chesapeake and Ohio case the United States Supreme Court has handed down another decision of great moment to railway interests. If the effect of the first decision will be to restrict those interests, the effect of the second may be to expand them. In 1899 all the railways of Southern California fixed a through rate of $1.25 per one hundred pounds on oranges from Southern California points to the Missouri River and further east. In this rule the railways reserved the right of routing (or choosing the route for) the freight east of their own terminals. The California Citrus Fruit Growers' Association complained that a pooling agreement existed among the railways leading to the Atlantic seaboard under which the fruit traffic was apportioned and by which joint rates for all were fixed, and that in pursuance thereof, as shippers were not allowed to name the railways over which the fruit should pass, it was sometimes sent by roundabout routes, resulting in delay and loss. The railways declined to obey the Inter-State Commerce Commission's consequent order to cease compulsory routing. Thereupon the case was carried to the Circuit Court on the ground, as the Commission contended, that rate and traffic agreements were virtually pooling contracts, and as such in violation of the anti-pooling provisions of the Inter-State Commerce Law. The railway companies justified the routing

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requirement by declaring it necessary to prevent rebates and favoritism. The Circuit Court sustained the Commission's contention. The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court, which now reverses the Circuit Court's decision and also the Commission's order, because it does not find that there has been, as a result of the rule, any discrimination between the initial carrier and the shippers; that an initial carrier might agree upon joint through rates with one or several connecting carriers, in which case it guaranteed a through rate, but only on condition that it had the routing; that the payment of rebates was unsatisfactory to all the railways, besides being plainly a violation of the Inter-State Commerce Act; that the routing arrangement was established to break up rebating; that it had been accomplished; that the traffic was fairly apportioned among the Eastern railways and that it went by the shortest routes; that not one of those railways knew the percentage of the traffic which it received; and, finally, that the tonnage pool was a myth. The Supreme Court's decision does three things: (1) It defines legal pooling; (2) it gives a more liberal construction to the law as applied to joint traffic arrangements; (3) it sanctions the modern practice of joint tariffs as a lesser evil than discrimination and favoritism. Thus it tends in the direction of the principle for which The Outlook has long contended, that the remedy for injustice in railway rates is not prohibition of combination, but regulation of the rates by the Government.

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Congo and the United States

The Secretary of State has written an open letter explaining the reason why the United States cannot officially interfere or even protest against the terrible wrongs inflicted upon the people of the Congo. How terrible those wrongs are our readers have been told. But, strongly as we wish that something could be done by America to put a stop to these cruelties, we are quite sure that the Secretary of State is correct in his conclusions. Our Government has no official responsibility for the Congo State. It has no means for conducting an independent investigation into the conditions there. There is no more reason why it should co-operate with other Powers in a protest against those conditions than why it should have united with them in a movement for the protection of the Christian subjects of Turkey at the time of the assassinations. But while the Nation cannot act officially, the people of the Nation can act unofficially through public appeals and public meetings. For this purpose no new investigation is necessary. The report of the Commission appointed by the King of the Belgians, of which we have given our readers some account, furnishes an entirely adequate basis for such popular protest. The defense put forth by the King of the Belgians furnishes all the grounds necessary for his conviction. We are not certain that Congress might not by joint resolution express the public sentiment of the American people on this subject. The refusal of Congress to pass a resolution on behalf of Greece in 1824 is a precedent against Congressional action now, but the historic speech of Daniel Webster in favor of that resolution may perhaps be said to furnish a precedent quite as strong on the other side. The emphasis which he put in that speech on the value and effectiveness of public opinion upon nations as well as upon individuals may appropriately be recalled at the present time as an incentive for arousing such public opinion in this country.

❀

President Roosevelt Intervenes for Peace

The call for a conference of the operators of the central competitive soft-coal territory, embracing western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to be held at Indianapolis on March 19, and the reconvening of the National Convention of the United Mine Workers of America in the same city on March 15, are recent developments in the mine labor situation which the public may regard as indicating that a strike of the bituminous coal employees is to be averted through a compromise of the differences between their representatives and their employers. The calling of these respective meetings followed the receipt of letters from President Roose-

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velt by Chairman Robbins, of the bituminous operators' committee, and President Mitchell, of the mine workers' union. These letters were in substance the same, the one to President Mitchell reading: "I note with very great concern the failure of your late convention on the joint inter-State agreement to come to a basis of settlement of the bituminous mining scale of wages. You in this business have enjoyed a great industrial peace for many years, thanks to the joint trade agreement that has resulted in the action of your successive conventions. A strike such as is threatened on April 1 is a menace to the peace and general welfare of the country. I urge you to make a further effort to avoid such a calamity. You and Mr. Robbins are joint chairmen of the Trade Agreement Committee of the National Civic Federation, and it seems to me that this imposes additional duty upon you both and gives an additional reason why each of you should join in making a further effort." Shortly after the receipt of President Roosevelt's letters it was announced in New York by President Mitchell that the miners' National Convention would be reconvened in Indianapolis on March 15, and from Pittsburg Chairman Robbins made public the call of the operators' committee for their conference in Indianapolis on March 19. In explanation of this action the operators' committee stated that "said meeting has been called entirely in deference to the wishes of the President of the United States, and that no action has been taken or agreement of any kind has been made by any operator up to this date regarding any possible settlement of existing differences. No settlement is possible on any terms until after such meeting has been held and the individual views of all of the operators of the four States have been obtained." Notwithstanding this statement, it is known that prior to the receipt of President Roosevelt's letters representatives of the operators and miners had been making the usual diplomatic moves to bring about a compromise before April 1 between the demands of the mine workers for an increase of twelve and one-half per cent. increase in wages, and the counter-demand of the operators that the present wage scale, in force since 1904, should be continued. The President's intervention acted as an additional incentive for those representatives to reach an amicable settlement, and it is believed that the coming Indianapolis meetings will result in a reconvening of the Inter-State Joint Conference which adjourned in January without renewing an agreement for the scale year following April 1.

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Operators and Miners Likely to Compromise

The compromise plan likely to be agreed upon in settling the differences between the soft-coal operators and mine workers is foreshadowed in the statement made public at Indianapolis on February 24 by Vice-President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers. In this statement Vice-President Lewis said, among other things: "You may accept one proposition as a fixed fact—that there will be no general strike in the mining industry April 1. The operators will restore the reduction accepted by the miners two years ago, and perhaps more." On this basis the compromise agreement foreshadowed by a reassembling of the operators and mine workers of the central competitive territory will bring to the mine workers of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois an increase of five and one-half per cent. over their present wages, this being the percentage of the wage reduction in 1904. A similar increase in wages to the mine workers in the Southwestern territory (Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas), and in some six other coal-mining States having State or district agreements, is also to be expected, as these separate conferences usually follow in general the action of the central competitive inter-State conference. This does not affect the wages and conditions of employment of the 155,000 mine workers in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania, whose interests for the present are in the hands of the conference of hard-coal operators and mine employees which met in New York on February 15, but which has not as yet come to any decision. The status of the negotiations between

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these representatives of the anthracite employees and operators looking to an agreement as to wages and conditions of employment in that industry following the expiration of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission's award on March 31 is reflected in the statement that at this writing the demands of the miners are in the hands of the operators. Since the conference on February 15, at which sub-committees of operators and mine workers were selected by each side to carry on negotiations, practically all the intervening time has been consumed by the sub-committee of the mine workers in drawing up their formal demands, and last week it was announced that these had been transmitted to the operators' sub-committee and were being discussed by its members. What these demands are the public has not been informed, and the only means it has had of even conjecturing as to the issues between the two interests engaged in the production side of the hard-coal industry are the inferences to be drawn from the letter of President Willcox, of the Delaware and Hudson Company, in reply to President Mitchell's request for the conference. This is the only letter of all the correspondence between the mine workers' officials and the hard-coal operators the contents of which have become public. Judging from the questions which President Willcox discusses in his letter, the demands of the mine workers upon the operators are for an eight-hour day for specified classes of employees, an increase in wages, recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, and a reorganization of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation. All of the representatives of the anthracite employees through whom the negotiations with the operators are being carried on are officials of the United Mine Workers of America, the significance of this statement being in the fact that, whether the operators "recognize the union" or not, it is that organization, for all practical purposes, with which they are dealing. This being plain, it is not believed that the officials of the miners' union will insist upon formal recognition, and this of course removes one of the strongest obstacles to a satisfactory ending of the present negotiations. In view of these negotiations between the mine workers and operators as to the division between them of the price the consumer is compelled to pay for hard coal, The Outlook regards as pertinent the question, Why is not the consumer of coal represented in a matter of such vital concern to him? The next step in the formation of the industrial State ought to bring with it a satisfactory answer to this question.

❀

Labor Leaders Charged with Murder

The recent arrest in Denver of the President and Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners on the charge of inciting the murder of ex-Governor Frank Steuenberg, of Idaho, opens a new chapter in the strange and thrilling history of the labor war in the mining States. Governor Steuenberg was slain at the gate of his own home on December 30, 1905. The present Governor of Idaho has issued an official statement in which he says that one Harry Orchard, the actual perpetrator of the murder, has made a full confession as to the manner and motive of the assassination, telling of the plans made and giving the names of those making them. Orchard confesses that this was his third attempt to kill Steuenberg; and it is alleged that he has also told of twenty-six murders growing out of the war between miners and mine-owners. Among those who are implicated by these confessions are President Charles H. Moyer and Secretary W. D. Haywood, of the Western Miners' Federation, and the Idaho authorities declare that they have other evidence of guilt to confirm the confession of Orchard, while Governor Gooding, of Idaho, asserts solemnly that his only object in procuring the extradition of the accused labor leaders from Denver is to secure justice, and that there is no thought of punishing the innocent or waging war on any labor organization. The arrests have created a great sensation in Colorado, Montana, and Idaho, and have caused a revival of the recriminations as to violence, lawlessness, and oppression which marked the miners' war—for it was really little less than war. Among

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the acts alleged to have been done by striking miners against non-union men were the intentional derailing of trains, the destruction of fourteen men by dynamite at Independence, the use of infernal machines, and the dropping of a cage with fifteen non-union miners in it down a 1,400-feet shaft. Secretary Haywood has often been accused of inciting violence (he is said to be really a greater power in the unions than President Moyer), but so far legal proof has not been adduced, and the charges have been strenuously denied. We need hardly say that the present accusation of murder is not to be accepted as true, and that until a jury has passed upon the evidence no one has a right to assume that these men are guilty. It may once more be pointed out, however, that the worst enemies of the labor union are those who incite or countenance violence or disregard of law and order. Not only must the non-union laborer be protected to the last point in his personal and civil rights, but the law-abiding union laborer must be protected from the public suspicion and discredit that fall upon him when violence occurs in labor troubles.

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Legal Liability of Incorporated Trades Unions

In the case of Franklin Union No. 4 vs. The People, referred to in The Outlook of February 10 (page 283), the decision against the Union has been, on appeal, affirmed by the appellate court. In this case the Union was incorporated, and there was evidence showing corporate acts of the Union in violation of the injunction. Whether the evidence was sufficient to make the organization responsible for the illegal acts of individual members was one of the questions in the case, and on this question the court was divided in opinion. The majority of the court say in their opinion: "We think the evidence clear and unequivocal that Franklin Union No. 4 was a party to the conspiracy alleged in the bill to exist, and it was properly found guilty of a violation of the injunction." The minority of the court, on the contrary, say: "That the evidence does not show that Franklin Union No. 4, in its corporate capacity, entered into any combination with any person or persons to do an unlawful act or to do a lawful act by unlawful means, or that the Union did anything in violation of the commands of the writ of injunction." From the imperfect reports of the case before us we do not think that any principle is decided in this case except the principle that when there is adequate evidence that an incorporated trades union—and the same principle would apply to any corporation—is proved to have participated by its corporate acts in illegal conduct, it can be held responsible by the courts and subjected to legal penalty; and in this principle there is, of course, nothing new.

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The Price of Gas in New York

At the last session of the New York Legislature a committee was appointed to investigate the subject of gas and electric lighting in the city of New York. As a result of the report of this committee two bills were introduced in the Legislature, one fixing the maximum price at which gas might be sold to the public at eighty cents per thousand feet, and the other creating a State Commission on Gas and Electricity which was empowered, among other things, to fix the maximum rate which any lighting company in the State might charge. The former bill was defeated by the powerful lobby representing the gas interests, but the latter was passed. A bill was also passed making the price for gas sold to the city for public lighting purposes seventy-five cents per thousand. The State Commission, after a long and careful investigation of the conditions in New York City, has filed orders fixing the maximum rate for the borough of Manhattan for the next three years at eighty cents per thousand feet. This price was arrived at by determining the cost of the manufacture and distribution of gas to consumers, and adding to this amount enough to provide for a reasonable return to the company upon the actual value of the property owned by the company and used in the manufacture and distribution of gas. This return was fixed by the Commission at eight per cent. of the

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value of the property. In determining the margin of profit which the companies shall be allowed to make, the Commission laid down two important principles: First, the return of eight per cent., which the Commission believes to be reasonable, shall be computed, not upon the capitalization of the company, but upon the actual capital employed in the manufacture and distribution of gas. Second, in determining the amount of this capital, the value of the company's franchise shall not be included. It is contended by the companies that as they are compelled to pay taxes on their franchises, the value of these franchises should be considered in arriving at the amount upon which the companies may properly make a profit. The Commission, on the other hand, believes that these franchises, granted by the people without compensation, should not be capitalized against the public, thereby compelling the public to pay a profit upon the value of the favor granted by it. The franchise tax paid by the corporation is charged against the public as an expense of operation, and is therefore, in reality, paid by the consumer. The order of the Commission fixing the price is subject to review by the court, a provision which will undoubtedly be availed of by the gas companies. A bill fixing the same price, similar to the one defeated last year, has passed the Assembly and is being pushed in the Senate. It should be enacted promptly, for it will reinforce the action of the Commission and make it reasonably certain that the new price will go into effect without delay.

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Removing a Dangerous Nuisance

The New York Legislature has passed the bill requiring the New York Central Railroad to put its freight tracks on Eleventh Avenue in New York City into a subway. These tracks have for years been an obstruction to traffic, often an obstacle to the successful fighting of fire, and always a menace to life and limb. They are a relic of days when Eleventh Avenue was a road running through uninhabited lands on the outskirts of the city, and constitute a valuable object-lesson on the folly of granting perpetual franchises anywhere in a city. The measure provides that the Rapid Transit Commission shall prepare, in agreement with the railroad company, a plan for a subway under the present tracks, to be built at the expense of the company. In return for a franchise to operate such a subway, the railroad shall surrender all its rights to the street through which it now runs, and shall remove from it all its tracks. The plan and franchise must be approved by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment before they become effective. In case the railroad company refuses to agree upon a plan with the Commission within a year, the Commission is directed to condemn the rights and franchises of the company to operate the road, and to cause the tracks to be removed from the street. It is reported that the counsel for the railroad has notified the city officials that if the bill becomes a law, by the signature of the Mayor and the Governor, it will cost the city a hundred millions of dollars; the company will compel the city to condemn its franchise, and will be able to show that it is entitled to that amount as compensation. The right under which the railroad now uses the avenue is, however, a doubtful one, and if the matter came before the courts it is by no means certain that the company would be found entitled to any compensation.

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The Trouble in the "S. P. C. A."

For many years the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has been one of the most useful and widely honored philanthropic organizations of New York City. The principles upon which it was established, and its reformatory work, not only in the protection of dumb animals, but in the development of humane and merciful feelings in the community, have made its founder, Henry Bergh, one of the National figures that Americans like to honor. The Society was established by Mr. Bergh in 1866, in the face of ridicule and skepticism, but when he died in 1888 he had the satisfaction of seeing the Society placed upon a firm and effective basis, and of know-

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ing that the laws for the protection of animals which he had been instrumental in enacting had been adopted by forty States in this country as well as in several foreign countries. It is very unfortunate, therefore, that the Society finds itself to-day the target of serious public and private criticism. The charges are that it has grown slack and indifferent in its work, that its management is autocratic and unsympathetic, and that its income, which is a handsome one—for the Society has grown very popular—is mismanaged or unwisely applied. No corporation, least of all a public and benevolent one, can afford to ignore charges of this kind when they attain such volume and are supported by such authority as are found in this case. The President of the Society, Mr. John P. Haines, is openly accused by some of the very best and most public-spirited citizens of New York of making or attempting to make the Society a close corporation in which he shall exercise despotic power. It is charged that he declines to have the accounts audited, and that he "packed" the recent annual meeting of the Society with paid employees so as to vote down a resolution calling for a complete investigation. It is impossible for The Outlook to form any judgment upon the facts presented to it as to the charges of inefficiency and financial mismanagement, but it is very clear to us that Mr. Haines is seriously injuring himself as well as the Society by refusing to give the fullest opportunity for a complete and thorough investigation of the charges and of the Society's work. We have had too recent an example of the personal disaster which followed the attempts to "whitewash" some of our great insurance corporations not to see the folly of trying to stifle by strategy the desire of the directors and members to know in fullest detail how the Society does its work. As the Society receives a large income from State or city funds, it is possible that a legislative inquiry may be made. At all events, it is to be hoped that, if Mr. Haines cannot be persuaded to see that he is pursuing a mistaken course, the managers and members will take steps for a reorganization of the Society. Its work is of so fine an order that public interest in it ought not to be chilled nor its successful continuance hampered by public doubt and suspicion of the wisdom, ability, and humane sympathy of its executive head.

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Reaction Against Privilege

Apparently because municipal reform is not progressing rapidly enough, Mr. Joseph M. Patterson last week notified Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, that he resigned immediately as Commissioner of Public Works. His letter of resignation is a document of some importance because it expresses a feeling that is growing in intensity, especially in the Middle West. It is a feeling of dissatisfaction with the law which Mr. Patterson's letter interprets. Mr. Patterson was bred in an environment of conservatism. He is a young man of means, educated, forceful, a natural executive. Following his convictions, he supported Mr. Dunne when, as candidate for Mayor, he raised the issue of "immediate" municipal ownership. In turn, Mr. Patterson was made a member of Mayor Dunne's administration, and he proved himself to be most efficient. In spite of his success, however, he has withdrawn in disgust with the conditions he felt constrained to fight. In his letter he cites instances in which he encountered corporations impregnably secured against attack in spite of their thefts of public property. "The whole body of our laws," he writes, "as at present framed, are ridiculous and obsolete. They are designed always to uphold capital at the expense of the community." Legal delay by appeal to the courts he finds to be the effective weapon of corporate wealth. Money, he believes, has become all-powerful. He therefore concludes that "ownership from which money springs should be invested in the whole community." He is not sure that he is a Socialist; but he accepts that label, and withdraws from the municipal government. He thus retires from the active combat against unjust privilege for the sake, apparently, of a party name concerning which he himself is doubtful.

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Inconsistent as his withdrawal is, his letter is indicative of a condition which is widespread and threatening. Michigan, for instance, is, by its own Constitution, deprived of the power to own, or to allow its cities to own, street railways. Valuable franchises are about to expire in Detroit, but the companies seem to have the city at their mercy. The cumbrous process of amending a constitution and the inclination of courts to make decisions on technical points in favor of existing privileges are thus coming to be popularly regarded as inimical to popular rights. It is not the part of wisdom for either legislatures or courts to disregard this feeling. No one has a right to ask the courts to disregard or set aside the law; but we have a right to ask that they will give to it a free interpretation, and in the interest of the rights of the common people rather than in that of special privileged classes.

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Race Riots in Ohio

The violence and rioting of last week in Springfield, Ohio, like the lynching in the same city two years ago, are the outbreaking of a spirit of lawlessness and bad citizenship for which the people of the place as a whole must hold themselves responsible. Race hatred is an evil that may exist anywhere, North as well as South; there are certain districts in New York City, for instance, where the less desirable elements of both races are mingled, and where more than one little race war has broken out more than once—quickly quelled, to be sure, but fierce while it lasted. But a soundly governed municipality will not permanently let such an evil fester. In Springfield the locality of the riots is called the "jungles," and is described as a notorious quarter filled with negro haunts of vice and criminal resorts. The town that lets such an infested "jungle" flourish undisturbed must accept the consequence. The trouble last week began with the shooting by two negroes of two white men. An attempt to seize and lynch the negroes was thwarted, and the mob marched to the negro quarter, wrecked and burned two saloons, cut the hose when the fire department tried to subdue the flames, chased and assaulted negroes indiscriminately, and brought battering-rams to bear on the wretched "shacks" of the "jungle." The spirit of the mob may be judged from the statement that "the original plan of the mob, according to some of the members, was to get Dean [one of the negroes accused of shooting] out of the jail, pull him at the end of a rope to the railroad yards, tie him to the rails, and let a switch engine run over him." For three or four days the rioting, burning, and violence continued, and the reports remind one of the descriptions of the Civil War draft riots in New York. The authorities called out eight companies of militia, tried to close the saloons, and broke up by police and soldiers all large gatherings of people. Still there were frequent instances of misconduct and attempts at house-burning, and it was feared that, if one of the white men originally wounded should die, the outbreak might be renewed with increased force. The forces and associations which stand for law and order held meetings to urge a firm stand by the authorities, and it was openly declared that the present conditions in Springfield are due to politicians catering to negroes and low whites and to the non-enforcement of laws.

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The Russian Duma

Last week the Russian Socialists raised the boycott and decided to take part in the elections for the Duma, or Parliament. The reason for this change of front was "their realization that the Duma will be an accomplished fact" because of an additional Imperial manifesto concerning it published last week. The previous manifestoes have been sufficient to convince Conservatives, Moderates, Liberals, and Constitutional Democrats of the reality of the Emperor's proposal. If the Social Democrats had been more wisely led, they would have accepted, as have other parties, the provisions of the Czar's proposal, not only as assuring for the first time in Russian history a National Assembly to the people, but also as forming a standing-ground from which to press for fur-

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ther reforms. That they did not even grudgingly accept the manifesto is largely the fault of the Polish leaders of the party majority, for not all the rank and file were so fatuous. Hence for four months we have seen the amazing spectacle of a large section of the people obstructing the very reform which was to bring them freedom and liberty. With this doubtless in mind, in a recent address before the Academy of Political Science at Philadelphia, Baron Rosen, the Russian Ambassador, said:

> Impartial history will take into account that, in a time of great political upheaval, men's minds are apt to lose their balance, and that, in the fever-heat of political passions long confined and at last unloosened, deeds will be done that will fill some day with burning shame the hearts of the very men who committed them. But severe will be the verdict of history on all those who, whether for selfish ends or blinded by political fanaticism, have been inflaming the passions of the easily deluded (because politically and economically ignorant) masses, thereby doing their best to defeat the noble endeavors of the sovereign and his government peacefully to lead the country into the path of constitutional liberty based on the reign of law and order.

Baron Rosen declared that the Imperial manifesto,

> Opening to the Russian people the gates of freedom, never to be closed again, is an event deeply affecting the future of a country equal in size to one-sixth part of the habitable globe and the destinies of one-tenth part of the human race. By the side of the liberation of the serfs this is the greatest . . . act ever accomplished by a Russian sovereign.

The Czar's manifesto last week definitely creates a legislative and not a merely advisory body, for it provides that

> No law will hereafter be effective without the approval of the National Assembly and Council of the Empire.
>
> The latter body will consist of an equal number of appointed and elected members, taken from the clergy, nobility, zemstvos, Academy of Science, universities, trade and industry.
>
> There will be two houses, both of which will have power to introduce legislation which does not affect the fundamental laws of the Empire.
>
> The annual sessions will be convoked and closed by Imperial ukase.
>
> Both the Council of the Empire and the National Assembly will have the right to ask Ministers regarding alleged unlawful acts.
>
> The sessions will be public.

In this connection we note that Count Witte, the Premier, has apparently triumphed over the reactionary tendencies recently and outrageously represented by the Minister of the Interior, and has issued a circular to the provincial Governors instructing them not to interfere in the coming elections, and announcing that the activity of the police will be limited to prevent illegal voting. The eyes of the whole world are fixed with keener and more sympathetic interest than ever on the transition of the Russian Government from autocracy to constitutionalism.

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The Jews in Russia

The oppression of the Jews in Russia has long been a cause of wonderment to other nations. No Jew in Russia may buy land or farm it; he may not live in the country, and only in certain parts of a town. He may not be a schoolmaster or professor, or even a teacher in a Christian family; he may not be educated at a public school or university, unless he is included among the Hebrew "exceptions," about five per cent. of the whole student number, though in Odessa ten per cent. has been granted. He may not sit in a town council; he may not be an officer; he may hold no State appointment. He may not even move from place to place without a special passport and special permission. The Jews are numerous in South Russia in general and in Odessa in particular. According to the correspondent of the New York "Sun" who has recited the above facts, the population of Odessa is about 600,000; according to the London "Times's" correspondent, about 430,000; the important fact, however, is that a third of the population is Hebrew. The correspondent of the London paper declares that long before the recent massacre in Odessa the central Jewish organization sent emissaries from Poland to Odessa; that many Jewish students and other Jews openly displayed revolvers, for the emissaries had brought an arsenal with them; that revolutionary meetings had been continually held at the university; that the students had organized a School Strike Association, by

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which they had been able abruptly to dissolve many educational establishments; that they had made barricades in the streets and had instigated rioting there. The excited tone of the deliberations in the Municipal Council, however, was responsible for much of what followed. A passionate majority demanded of the president that the military and civil Governors of the town should be memorialized to withdraw the guards, the Council guaranteeing to enroll a citizen constabulary to maintain order. The Governors naturally replied that without superior authority they could not comply, whereupon half a dozen policemen were killed. At this moment the Freedom Manifesto arrived (October 30), but the popular passion was not appeased. Red flags were everywhere unfurled, and the Russian national emblem was dishonored by having all color except the strip of red torn from it. The mob even gained possession of the City Hall, mutilated the Emperor's portrait, and then declared the dynasty abolished and a South Russian Republic established.

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The Government's Record

Meanwhile other influences were at work in Odessa. General Trepov started one influence, says the "Sun's" correspondent, when he urged the civil Governor, Neidhart, to allow a demonstration of the so-called Loyalist Black Hundred on November 1. Another influence was started, says the "Times's" correspondent, when the leaders of certain workmen's unions were informed by the police that the cause of all the trouble was the Jewish question—the Jews demanding freedom and equality, and yet, gaining these by the Imperial manifesto, now demanding a republic; that vodka, the Russian whisky, helped to stimulate this sentiment; that police emissaries, disguised as workmen, led parties of workmen and dock hangers-on to the Jewish poorer quarters, and instigated plunder of property—an easy task, first, because of race hatred, and, second, as the "Sun's" correspondent informs us, because the fire at the time of the Odessa mutiny last summer destroyed part of the docks, entirely burning away the wooden viaduct upon which the dock railway runs along the whole face of the port; furthermore, there was distress not only among the dockers, but among all the lower class of laborers. The average wage for unskilled labor in Odessa is only forty cents for a ten hour day, and life in that town is more expensive than in most Russian cities. The Jews defended themselves against their attackers with unexpected strength. The result was a horrible carnage. Leading Jew merchants vainly telegraphed to Count Witte, the Premier, says the "Times's" correspondent; and Baron Kaulbars, the military Governor, also turned a deaf ear. The latter is credited with having dryly remarked: "I have orders that this freedom for which you have schemed and agitated shall be tested for three days without interference from me." When the three days of unparalleled license to the assassin were over, General Kaulbars marched his battalions into the street, and order was restored. In a later issue of the "Times" Rabbi Gaster, of London, denies that emissaries had been sent from Poland, but admits that ever since the Kishinev atrocities the Jews had naturally banded together for protection and self-defense. He also challenges the statement of the "Times's" correspondent that about four hundred Jews had been killed, declaring it to be nearer four thousand. In a still later issue of the "Times" the Odessa correspondent gives authority for the statement that the Jews had long been arming, and had ultimately armed between four thousand and five thousand men. He shows from the cemetery records that only three hundred Jews were actually killed, but declares that of the forty thousand persons rendered homeless and destitute the vast majority were Jews, and that of these a great proportion were inoffensive people. It is gratifying to learn from the "Sun's" correspondent that not only has much relief come from outside contributions, but also that the town of Odessa has already spent $75,000 in that direction, and has voted as much again for the maintenance of the distressed. While the exact facts are still in doubt, it is certain that Odessa has suffered sorely.

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Missionaries and Merchants in China

The missionary disaster at Nanchang, China, is now declared to have been due to a quarrel between a Roman Catholic priest, who, according to the treaty of 1897, was exercising civil functions as a *taotai*, and the natives. The latter held a mass-meeting, which was succeeded on the following day by a riot, during which the property of the Roman Catholics was burned. Six priests and two members of a Protestant family were killed. The Chinese Governor attempted to check the riot and rescue the missionaries. Most of the French Roman Catholic, English Protestant, and American Methodist missionaries found refuge, many of them at Kiukiang, to which point American ships had been ordered up the Yangtse River. The cause of the Nanchang disaster, like the causes of those at Lienchau, Changsha, and Changpu, is thus seen to have been proximately local. Mr. Rockhill, American Minister to Peking, telegraphs that there are not more missionary disturbances than usual, and Mr. Bland, the London "Times" correspondent at Shanghai, says that Boxer outbreaks are unlikely, but adds that "organized obstruction appears probable;" he may refer both to the opposition now manifested by the Chinese to all commercial undertakings in the Empire by foreigners, and to the anti-dynastic feeling. Interesting testimony is at hand from the Chinese press itself. The "North China Herald" says that "the recent riots are but manifestations of tendencies universal throughout the Chinese Empire;" the "Peking and Tientsin Times" declares that Chinese suspected of anti-dynastic tendencies are to be immediately arrested; according to Dr. Sun-Wat-Sen, the South Chinese agitator for reforms, this will affect four-fifths of China's population. The "Overland China Mail" confirms the reports that the sluggish life of inland China has been stirred both by anti-foreign and anti-dynastic agitators. While this agitation may not always affect the missionaries, there is perhaps some significance in the fact that the four missionary disasters above mentioned have occurred in southern China, where anti-foreign feeling is especially strong and where antipathy to the reigning Manchu dynasty, which once showed itself sharply in the Taiping rebellion, has long been smoldering. A chief reliance of those who expect protection for missionaries and merchants, as well as for the Imperial Government itself, may be found in the veteran Viceroy Chang-Chi-Tung, who still holds his great power at Hankau, governing the two important provinces of Hunan and Hupe. In military reform he has been doing on a smaller scale in the Yangtse Valley what Yuan-Shi-Kai, Viceroy of the Province of Chili, has accomplished there. Chang-Chi-Tung was the one Viceroy who, because of the Boxer riots in 1900, did not lose his head, physically or officially.

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Church and State in France

Pius X. has now taken two important steps concerning the status of the Roman Catholic Church in France. According to a despatch from Rome, he has issued a papal encyclical condemning the law which provides for the separation of the Church and State in France because it is repugnant to the Church's divine constitution, because the public exercise of worship is intrusted to lay associations, and because the freedom of the Church is submitted to the will of public officials. A few days later, at a secret consistory, the Pope created nineteen French bishops in the dioceses made vacant by reason of the recent Franco-Vatican struggle. Thus, despite the encyclical, French Roman Catholics may congratulate themselves on being again provided with bishops. As to the recent disturbances in the churches, the opinion of some distinguished French Catholics is worth quoting. Speaking for those somewhat conservatively inclined, M. Ferdinand Brunetière, editor of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and one of the present leaders of French Catholicism, condemns any priests who may have encouraged the recent anti-Government demonstrations. While he shares the indignation of Catholics against the separation law, he sees no infringement of their rights in the operation of the inventory, which he declares to be merely

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the legal way of preparing the devolution of Church property to the "associations cultuelles" required to be formed by the State to control the Church property, unless, indeed, it is desired that it should become State property. M. Brunetière points out that the fact of an inventory having been taken must tend rather to hamper than to facilitate any meditated spoliation; furthermore, now that the Government has begun inventories, he recognizes the necessity to finish the list. Speaking for the liberal Roman Catholics, another equally eminent Frenchman declares that the vast majority of Roman Catholics in France are loyal both to Church and State; they recognize the immeasurably enhanced spiritual force henceforth to be exercised by the Church because of its liberation from the former State control obtained by the Government's right to nominate candidates to vacant sees in return for a money equivalent; they also believe that the State will gain as much in its liberation from the clerical intrigues aimed at its overthrow—intrigues never characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church in France as an entirety. As to the recent disturbances in the churches, says this personage, when such a frank monarchist as Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris—the head of the Roman Catholic Church in France—shows a loyal and courteous submission to the State, no ecclesiastic of lesser rank should dare do otherwise.

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Professor Langley

Professor Samuel Pierpont Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who died at Aiken, South Carolina, last week, after a short illness, was one of the best-known scientists of the day. His connection with the Smithsonian Institution had borne fruit in many directions and had greatly increased the usefulness and advanced the authority of that institution. For many years he was a devoted student of solar phenomena; and in dealing with the special problems presented in this field his most valuable service to science was rendered. He was specially interested in the endeavor to analyze the luminous cloud-covering of the sun, examining its spectrum and making charts which were important contributions to the knowledge of the subject. In order to achieve these results he had perfected the bolometer—an instrument which was of extreme delicacy when he took it in hand, and in its development, under his tireless study, recorded differences in temperature to the millionth of a degree. But while the heat spectra and other sources of radiation of the sun occupied a first place in Professor Langley's interest, public attention has been most directed to him of late years by reason of his experiments with flying-machines under the direction of the War Department. The air-ship on which he had spent so much time and thought failed to realize his hopes, but the experiment was made on strictly scientific principles, and the failure was due, in the opinion of many students of the matter, to certain faults in the method of launching. What the aeroplane will do in the future remains to be seen. Professor Langley never lost faith in it, and it is reported that the machine is now in condition to be tried again, and that a trial will be made at an early date. Professor Langley was a very clear and delightful writer, with the rare faculty of dealing with technical subjects in untechnical language. The thoroughness of his knowledge and his mastery of clear and delightful English are shown in "The New Astronomy." He was a devout reader and a lover of literature, familiar to an unusual degree not only with the best English but with the best French writing. George Borrow was one of his familiar companions, and his collection of Borrow manuscripts is said to be extensive. He was not only an indefatigable worker, but a tireless writer, and his written contributions include more than one hundred titles. He was a member of many scientific societies, and had friends among scientific people in all parts of the world.

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General Schofield

A month ago the death of Major-General Joseph Wheeler removed one of the most prominent of the Confederate Army veterans of the Civil War; last week the

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death of Lieutenant-General John M. Schofield removed certainly an equally important veteran from the Union side of that war. General Schofield was a West Point graduate in a class containing Sheridan, McPherson, and Hood. In the Civil War Schofield's first duty was as mustering officer for the State of Missouri. He soon became well known as an artillery officer, rising steadily in rank and remaining with the Department of the Missouri until 1864, during which period he organized the State militia and forced the Confederates south of the Arkansas River. General Grant now put him in command of the Army of the Ohio, thus placing him at the head of a force of 17,000 men forming the left wing of Sherman's army in Georgia. With this force Schofield took part in all the operations of the Atlanta campaign, and after its termination, going to the assistance of Thomas in Tennessee, found himself opposed to his West Point classmate Hood, whom he defeated disastrously at the battle of Franklin. Schofield's "gallant and meritorious service" at this battle gained for him the rank of Brevet Major-General. His forces captured Fort Anderson, Wilmington, and Kinston, and formed a junction with Sherman at Goldsboro. At the surrender of Johnston's army at Durham Station the following month Schofield executed the military convention of capitulation, received the arms, and paroled the prisoners. After the war Lincoln sent Schofield on a mission to Europe in relation to the presence of European troops on the American continent; the Schofield report had great weight in the Administration's maintenance of the firm front which finally resulted in the departure of the French from Mexico. In 1868 Schofield succeeded Stanton as Secretary of War, and was promoted to the rank of Major-General. For six years Schofield was Superintendent of the West Point Academy, and afterwards occupied various distinguished military posts. On Sheridan's death in 1888 Schofield became Commanding General of the Army. The rank of Lieutenant-General was revived and conferred upon him. As a man of sterling character and solid attainments, as an active officer in the field, and as a military critic of acknowledged prescience and poise, General Schofield served his country long and well. He was a fine type of the scholar, soldier, citizen, and gentleman.

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The Student Christian Federation

Last week at Nashville, Tennessee, occurred the fifth International Convention of the World Student Christian Federation. These conventions are held once in four years. Their purpose is to enforce the missionary message to the student body throughout the world; to furnish information about the physical, mental, moral, and religious conditions and needs of the various races and nations; to interview and direct those inclined towards foreign missionary service; to organize these volunteers into a band of brothers, whose business it shall be to further the missionary propaganda; to stimulate general interest in all forms of missionary activity. The Federation is composed of national student organizations such as the American and Canadian Student Young Men's Christian Associations, the British College Christian Union, the Australasian Student Christian Union, and similar bodies. The Toronto convention in 1902 was attended by forty Harvard men, the largest delegation present. This year, on the basis of the University's size, Harvard was entitled to forty-one representatives. More applied, however, than could be accommodated. The same interest was manifested in other colleges. When the Convention opened, there were present nearly five thousand auditors and delegates from the many universities, colleges, and seminaries upon which the Federation has brought its agency to bear with such thoroughness and constancy as to make an effective missionary impression. Upon the stage were seated leaders in the missionary work of practically all the Protestant Churches in Christendom, and the Convention was addressed by such orators, among others, as Mr. John R. Mott, Chairman of the Executive Committee; Mr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; Dr. George Robson, of Edin-

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burgh, Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland; Mr. J. Campbell White, of Toronto, Secretary of the Forward Movement of the United Presbyterian Church; and Dr. Thomas F. Gailor, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee. The students and others interested in the Convention subscribed towards the expenses of the Student Volunteer Movement for the coming four years about $85,000. But the most inspiring feature of the conference was the deeply religious spirit pervading the assemblage, a spirit which, we hope, includes an increasing realization that education as well as enthusiasm must be a vital part of the missionary's equipment.

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A Lenten Meditation

The figure of the Christ in the wilderness appeals even more impressively to the modern than it did to the ancient world. The Orientals of his age were familiar with solitude, for it is through renunciation, withdrawal from the world and separation from its fortunes that the ancient way of release from pain and sorrow lies. The first stage in escaping from the great illusion of life is to flee from life. The "wheel of life" whirls the spirit through endless series of sorrows, until it disentangles itself from all relations with time and sense, and makes itself one with the Absolute. To the modern world, immersed in great and significant affairs, and driven on by the unescapable tasks imposed upon it, the desert and the wilderness seem unutterably lonely and desolate. As the men of the Middle Ages avoided deep woods, the summits of mountains, and all wild and remote places, and clung to one another in a world full of imaginary even more than of real enemies, so the men and women of to-day flee the solitary places and are eager to fight their battles together. In the wide, unpeopled waste the figure of the Christ stands out in strange and appealing majesty.

He did not seek remoteness and desolation after the Oriental manner, however; for he was bent not on escaping from life but upon mastering it, penetrating to its very heart and returning to it that he might fill all its courses with a deeper vitality. He did not withdraw from life; he went a little way out of it that he might re-enter it with victorious power. It was not to get away from sadness of spirit, misery of body, hardships of condition, that the Christ left the world, but that he might pierce these outward appearances and discern, what the Oriental has yet to learn, that pain and sorrow are not evils to be escaped, but forms of discipline to be accepted from a love so much wiser than ours that it has not only perfect tenderness but perfect courage for us. He did not flee from the horror of sin, defiling life at its fountain sources, because he thought it an illusion, a nightmare of the imagination from which one might awaken himself in the silence of the desert. He knew that sin was a great and terrible reality, and he sought the companionship of God that he might return armed and equipped for the long warfare that should finally destroy it. He did not turn away with sinking heart from the specter of death haunting every home and shadowing every happiness; he went apart that he might come back to his fellows to raise their dead, to stand serene beside all the graves of the world, to be buried after the manner of his kind, and to come forth radiant and triumphant in the power of his Father, and to say with the mighty emphasis of his own resurrection to the hosts of the sorrowful and bereaved, "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

The Christ went into the desert not to save himself but to save the world; not to protest against the order of life but to open the eyes of men to its divine significance; not to escape from a Wheel of Life that was a vast circle of torture, but to show life as an ascending spiral whose final curve is in the presence of God. He went into solitude and silence that he might come back to be forevermore the companion of all who suffer, are cast down, oppressed, forsaken, or sorrowful. The wilderness was a place of sore trial to his spirit because he had to drink of the cup of sorrow which life puts to the lips of all its children. There is no loneliness which he did not know, no solitude with which he was unfamiliar, no isolation which he escaped, no sense

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of being forsaken in which he did not share; but in the wilderness loneliness became the source of sympathy, solitude of tenderness, isolation of a passion for fellowship, the consciousness of being forsaken for a deep and abiding sense of the unescapable presence of God. The world was not an illusion to the Christ, it was a spiritual reality; the experiences of life were not mere delusions of a creature confused by temporary relations, they were the methods of divine education; pain and sorrow were not evils to be shunned, they were the tests and trials through which the immortal was slowly evoked out of the mortal. Christ pierced the illusion that the world is an illusion and discerned its divine reality; and in the light of the spiritual order which became clear to his spirit in the wilderness he came back to life, not that he might take men out of its meshes and entanglements, but that he might make them its masters and give it to them more abundantly.

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Railway Rate Regulation

The newspapers muddle the railway rate regulation situation unnecessarily. It is not as complicated as some of them seem to think, and as perhaps some of them desire to make their readers think. The varying opinions can all be put into three classes.

First are those who think that the courts can render all the relief which the public needs. If any legislation is required, it is only law to make unlawful certain practices which have grown up and to expedite legal proceedings for their prevention.

Second are those who desire to see the Inter-State Commerce Commission given power, in dealing with inter-State commerce, to determine what is a just and reasonable rate, a power which the courts do not possess and which cannot constitutionally be exercised by them; but they also desire that the decision of the Commission shall be subject to a review by the courts in proceedings which would practically make possible a retrial of the whole issue decided by the Commission.

Third are those who wish no power to be given to the courts which they do not possess under the Constitution to review all executive and administrative acts. It is not easy to say exactly what that power is, but in general terms it may probably be said that it is not power to retry the case already tried by the Commission, but is power to reverse any decision of the Commission on the ground that its interpretation of the law has been incorrect.

Mr. Roosevelt advocates the third view, some of his advisers the second; no one of his official advisers has publicly avowed himself as an advocate of the first view. Of course there are in each of these parties differences of opinion; but if our readers will keep in mind this simple statement of the fundamental principles, they will be able better to understand the issues as they are sometimes not very clearly or intelligibly debated by Washington correspondents and in daily press editorials.

❀

The Joint Statehood Bill

The Joint Statehood Bill, which provides for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as one State, and Oklahoma and Indian Territory as another State, will, it is announced at this writing, come before the Senate for action on the 9th of March. This agreement probably means that the debate on this measure will then be opened and carried on without the intervention of any other business until a conclusion can be reached. In answer to some correspondents, The Outlook here redefines its position upon this bill.

We reaffirm our conviction that the question whether any Territory shall be admitted as a State and how it shall be admitted is one to be determined primarily by the Nation, not primarily by the people of the Territory. The Congress representing all the people has both a Constitutional and a moral right to determine whether such a Territory shall be divided into two or more States, or

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whether, if there are two or more Territories, they shall be united into one State. Such questions are to be determined primarily by a consideration of the interest of the people of all the States, not by a consideration of the opinions of the population which happens at the time to be residing within the Territory.

But while this is true, it is also true, as a general proposition, that it is not for the interest of all the States that any Territory should be converted into a State or a part of a State against the will of the people who reside in that Territory. Their will to come in is not at all conclusive of their right to come in; but their will to remain out raises a very strong presumption that they should be permitted to remain out. The coercion into the Union of a reluctant population is Constitutional, but is rarely expedient. The right of the Congress to enact a law converting a Territory into a State cannot, in our judgment, be successfully controverted; but only extraordinary circumstances can make it wise for Congress to exercise that right against the will of the people inhabiting the Territory.

There are indications that there is a considerable sentiment in the Indian Territory, especially among the Indians and their friends, against union with Oklahoma. How strong this sentiment is we do not know, though we judge that it is probable that a majority of the inhabitants of the Indian Territory would prefer to come into the Union with Oklahoma as a State than to remain as a Territory. If so, we do not think that ancient treaties with the Indian tribes should prevent the Indian Territory from being so admitted, since, so far as we can judge, the rights and interests of the Indians can be better promoted under a State than under a Territorial organization. It is affirmed by the Arizona Anti-Joint-Statehood League that at least ninety-five per cent. of the people of Arizona are opposed to its admission as a State in conjunction with New Mexico. It is claimed that the people of that Territory would prefer to remain indefinitely a Territory rather than to be united in one State with New Mexico. The grounds of their objection to such union have been stated in the columns of The Outlook. Whether these grounds are adequate or not, we are not able to see that there are any National interests dependent upon the immediate admission of Arizona as a State sufficient to overbear the wishes of the people of Arizona, if the Arizona Anti-Joint-Statehood League is correct in its opinion.

For these reasons, while we are quite clear that these four Territories ought not to be admitted as four States, and while, so far as we can see, the objections against the union of these Territories into the two States do not counterbalance the advantages, so that if we lived in Indian Territory we should probably vote for its union with Oklahoma, and if we lived in Arizona we should probably vote for its union with New Mexico, we are nevertheless of the opinion that the Senate should adopt the Foraker amendment, extending it so as to apply it to the Indian Territory and Oklahoma as well as to Arizona and New Mexico. The amendment so enlarged would provide for an election in all four Territories, and would admit Oklahoma and the Indian Territory as one State only in case the people of both Territories, voting separately, voted for such admission, and the people of Arizona and New Mexico as one State only in case the people of both those Territories, voting separately, also voted for their admission as one State.

In short, while we reaffirm the right of the Congress to determine under what conditions any Territory shall be admitted to the Union, we think the consent of the people of each Territory involved should be one of the conditions which Congress should require in the present case as a condition precedent to its admission.

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Our statement last week, in the paragraph entitled "The Fight Against Race-Track Gambling," of the revenue derived from the "privileged stand" of bookmakers and pool-sellers at the New York race-tracks requires correction. We are informed that last year the stewards changed the rule at a sacrifice of revenue, and now admit those gentlemen simply on tickets like everybody else.—THE EDITORS.

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The Spectator

On different occasions during the last few years the Spectator has spent several weeks at a time in the home of a Virginia farmer, a member of the middle class, a growing body at the South, where of old there was only the division of high caste and "poor whites" in the Caucasian population. The farmer was kindly, shrewd, honest, intelligent, industrious, prosperous. He was amazingly pious, quoting Scripture for everything he did. "From him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away," he lived up to literally, but with discretion. To him the texts "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," and "He that will not work, neither shall he eat," meant what they said. He was his own hired man a great part of the time, because labor was not easy to get and not satisfactory when gotten. Sometimes his wife went with him to the field. "Not that I have to work in the crop," she said, "but my man wants my company."

❀

She was as pretty a thing as one might care to see. They had been married fourteen years, and he called her "Sweet." She had a hired girl to help about the house. Her husband allowed her to do no heavy work, none that would hurt her, on the farm. Knocking down corn-stalks, tying fodder, dropping corn or tobacco plants, gathering peas, loading wagons with fodder, and other agricultural offices, when continued for a reasonable time, involve no more labor than golf or tennis, and not as much as basket-ball, bag-punching, walking-matches, and races across country, in which things the modern young woman indulges with pride, for the fun of it and for the good of her body. "Sweet," who knew naught of fashionable athletics, walked along beside her husband and knocked down corn-stalks, or followed his plow, dropping corn into furrows. She was rosy and healthy. "Working in the field with my man is not nearly so tiresome as my indoor work," she would say. "My head aches when I work in the house too much. And my man needs my help." On an afternoon the Spectator, looking out of his window, beheld her, in her pink print frock and pink sunbonnet, sitting on a load of fodder. When the wagon stopped in front of the barn, she stood up on the hay and tossed bundles into the loft, laughing and bandying words with her "man." "She is getting as much fun out of it as if it were tennis," the Spectator meditated.

❀

One night the Spectator put down his pen and descended to the living-room. There he beheld by lamplight and leaping firelight a picture he longed to paint. White-oak splits littered the floor; brown farm baskets (browned by use and exposure) stood around, upside down, right side up, and sideways; and two happy folks were patching them with the new strips, or splits, that gleamed like white ribbons interwoven with the brown. It was like a scene in a kindergarten for grown-ups.

❀

Another night, when "Sweet" and her "man" were not to be discovered in the living-room, the Spectator, with fine perspicacity, walked out to the tobacco barn. While he does not use tobacco himself, he must confess that there is to his mind a most delectable fragrance hanging around these old Virginia tobacco barns in "curing" time. The interiors are picturesque with the dark weeds hanging overhead and all around like canopy and curtains, the glow of smoldering fire in the center of the earthen floor, the "hands"—strippers, graders, and tiers—sitting around, deftly twisting and turning the leathery leaves. In the past such work was done almost wholly by negroes. The Spectator saw in the rich mahogany gloom of the barn, feebly lit by two lanterns, the white man and his pretty wife. He went in and sat down by the man: "Can I not help?" "Well, I reckon maybe I can teach you to tie," was the surprised but cordial answer. "I didn't think town folks would like this sort of work." The Spectator profited by instructions, and, if he says it who should not, succeeded in doing his part fairly

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well, and received praises and congratulations with becoming modesty.

❀

The Spectator rambled into a field which was being cleared of rocks. The farmer's wife and her hired girl were tossing the smaller stones into the wagon, while the farmer was handling the larger ones. The hired girl was saying, in a spirit of rivalry, to her mistress, "Ef I can't beat you makin' good lightbread, I kin beat you th'owin' rocks in de waggin!" "Go slow! go slow!" said the farmer. "I don't want back-broken women around me! Sweet, you and Jinny Sue leave them big rocks alone, I tell you!" "Sweet," her slim body poised, her two hands holding a rock above her head, laughed back: "Don't you fret! You're the back-acher in our house—goin' out all sorts of weather in any sort o' shoes! I don't know I've got a back!"

❀

The Spectator discovered the ox-cart at the edge of the woods, and "Sweet" and Jinny Sue picking up chips from ground covered with fragments of fallen trees. "Would you like to help?" the former asked the Spectator, with a merry twinkle. The Spectator helped, grateful for the invitation. "We'll store these under one of the sheds," said she, "against a rainy day. And," in a burst of generosity, "you can get a basketful for your fire whenever you like. These fat-pine chips are fine for making a fire burn bright." An aristocrat of the old school riding by paused to "pass the time o' day." "Would you like to help pick up chips?" the farmer's wife asked him politely. He dismounted and "helped," selecting very large pieces of pine bark for his gatherings, stooping and bending laboriously in the task. "He don't know much about picking up chips," said she to me in an aside, "but then," apologetically, "he wasn't raised to it. He does the best he knows how."

❀

Presently she uncovered a basket and treated us to a lunch of fried chicken and lightbread and pie, washed down with a glass of milk which had been kept cool in the spring near by. Evidently she regarded picking up chips as a festival. The Spectator has come to look back upon it in that light. The smell of the woods and of the new chips, the vision of the green pines, red-leaved maples and sweetgums and lordly golden poplars on one side and the expanse of tan broomsedge on the other, are with him now, teasing him to flee again the dust, grime, rush of the city, and hie him where he may pick up chips to an accompaniment furnished by singing birds and cawing crows which sing and caw as if there was nothing else in this world to do but sing and caw.

❀

From the farm-house the Spectator wandered by devious ways leading through pleasure resorts where people labored diligently to amuse themselves, and found himself presently at a little wayside hostelry where the proprietor's wife was her own cook, housemaid, and everything else, her servant having fallen ill, or quit suddenly, or otherwise failed her, and it being impossible to secure another for love or money.

❀

In his room that night the Spectator was thinking of the farm-house. A time-worn, finger-worn Bible lay at his elbow. Many a guest had turned its pages. The Spectator opened it and read, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," with a new understanding. "Is this a curse, after all? The college athlete does not consider the sweat of his brow a curse. The girl who plays basket-ball does not consider it so. Why should labor that God blesses, rewarding it with bread, be so considered? With love and peace, all labor is godlike, kingly, sweet, and joyful. Will it not come to pass that those who have not enough to do will reach out eagerly, tenderly, to hands that are overtasked and claim their share of work as duty, privilege, and pleasure?" A tired sigh just outside his window gave his philosophy a setback. Then these words, uttered by a lady boarder, floated in from the "piazza:" "May I not string those beans for you? And you go to bed; you've been up so long; you rose before the sun. My hands are tired of lying still, while yours have too much to do."

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FINLAND AND HER RELATION TO RUSSIA

BY BARON SERGE A. KORFF

Head of the Russian Law Course at the University of Helsingfors

THE crisis that Finland has recently passed through and the manifesto of November 4 of the Czar restoring the old Finnish guarantees have completely changed the position of this small State and her relation to her greater neighbor.

The restoration of her old rights came to Finland not quite unexpectedly. Already Prince Obolensky's policy was characterized by the slackening of the system of Russification of his predecessor, General Bobrikoff. Now that the country has again her constitutional guarantees and Prince Obolensky is succeeded by Privy Councilor Gerard, an educated and trustworthy Governor, the relations of Finland to Russia have entirely changed, and the change is cordially welcomed both by the liberal Russian party and also by the Finns, although not by the Russian reactionaries, who look upon the Finnish constitution and the Finns' recently acquired liberty as a severe blow to their pride and to their hopes.

The administration of Bobrikoff was particularly galling to Finland, as the people had been accustomed to independence and freedom since the reign of the Emperor Alexander I. Her constitution and juridic relations to Russia have been well described in the works of Telliulk, Pillet, Despagnet, Brie, Fisher, and Lapradelle; they all agree on the question of the existence of the real union between the two countries being similar to the union between Austria and Hungary, or the former union between Sweden and Norway.

The Czar's manifesto of November 4 was the solemn restoration of Finland's old rights, and is so considered by the Russian Government, by all the liberal parties of Russia, and also, naturally, by the Finns.

The policy of Russification that lasted for about six years had strained to the utmost the good relations of the two neighbors. All of General Bobrikoff's measures aimed at the introduction into Finland of the methods of the Russian bureaucracy, and the means employed were almost invariably compulsion and force.

The Russification consisted in compulsory teaching of the Russian language in the schools to the detriment of Finnish and Swedish, the mother tongues of the population; in the appointment of Russian bureaucrats and officials to all the important positions in the civil government; in the introduction of press censorship, not known in Finland since the eighteenth century; in the court-martialing of all those who tried, even passively, to resist Bobrikoff and his associates (later on such persons were deported, without trial, to remote Russian cities). All this was done with the object of reducing Finland to the position of a Russian province, and utterly regardless of the great racial and historical differences between the two countries.

The repressive policy of Bobrikoff and his associates was the more hateful to the Finns because they had been for nearly a century accustomed to full political freedom and liberty. Unlike the Russians, the Finns never knew slavery or serfdom, and until 1898 they knew of bureaucratic evils only by hearsay.

Under the constraint of Bobrikoff's rule the strong character of the Finn grew still stronger; his will had a better training; his ideals were focused on one point—the restoration of liberty, law, and order. The heavier the pressure of the Russian Government, the worse the action of Bobrikoff, the better the Finn learned to draw a line of distinction between Russia private and Russia official; and the worse the hatred grew against the latter, the stronger were the

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sympathies that were manifested for the former of these classes.

The stormy days of the November strike afforded strong proof of this, and showed plainly that no feeling of national hatred exists now, or ever did exist, between the two countries, though the Russian and the foreign press have for years past spoken so often and so much of the national dislike of the Finns for the Russians that it is difficult even now to persuade the world of the fallacy. The reactionary and official press of Russia endeavored to persuade the people that racial and national hatred existed, and offered that as a reason for the detested policy of Russification.

The events during the past months afford the strongest possible proof of the sympathy existing between the Finns and the Russians. During the strike one could see Russian soldiers and Finnish workmen going about the city arm in arm. Russian and Finnish children marched together in procession through the city.

At the University a new society has been organized, whose aim is to study Russian history, life, laws, and conditions.

On the day the manifesto was published, every shop on the main streets displayed Russian and Finnish flags and ribbons of the National colors draped together. The Russian relief concerts and money collections attracted many hundred Finnish marks. These are significant facts. The good understanding has undoubtedly grown very much stronger during the last months, for the Finns realize that the whole empire of Russia is struggling for freedom and liberty, and to throw off the yoke of the bureaucracy. With such a movement the Finns heartily sympathized, having so recently learned to know by their own bitter experiences the ways and means of bureaucratic government.

The natural consequences of this form of government and the result of the policy of generating national hatred are only too clearly demonstrated in the present conditions existing throughout the whole empire. The Baltic provinces are devastated, Poland is in a perpetual state of siege, and the Caucasus is in open rebellion. Considering these facts, the calm evolution of Finland is certainly noteworthy.

The Czar's manifesto restored Finland's old order of government, provided for the summoning of the Diet, and referred to the latter the reform of the nation's representation.

And now as to the cardinal question of the future relations of the two countries to one another. From careful study and observation, I can confidently assert that not only does Finland not desire to separate from Russia, but separation would be decidedly detrimental to the best interests of both countries. Finland agrees to the union with Russia as it was outlined by Alexander the First. Russia has exclusive control of foreign affairs, the military and naval policies, and consequently the right of settling international questions. At the same time, the Czar, as Grand Duke of Finland, has the right to summon, open, adjourn, and close the Finnish legislature, and has at the same time a far-reaching power in all legislative questions and in the administration of law.

The Governor-General, the highest executive officer in Finland, is and will be a Russian, responsible only to the Czar, who has the right of confirming the nomination of Senators. All military and naval forces stationed in Finland are under the direct orders of the Russian Minister of War. Those are the bonds that bind the two countries into a close union. Finland agrees to this union, and will maintain it—a union with Sweden being now impossible and undesired by the Finns.

Although Finland does not wish to separate from Russia or to break the union, she nevertheless stoutly defends her independence. What Finland desires is a separate legislative body, the independent administration of her internal affairs, and, in short, to stand in somewhat the same relation to Russia as that of Canada to England, which would be as advantageous to Russia as to Finland.

The main determining question of modern life is trade, and trade prospers only when peace is guaranteed. The administration of Bobrikoff and his col-

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leagues did not and could not stimulate exchange between the two neighbors, their relation being too severely strained. The longer Bobrikoff remained in office the less became the exports and imports on the Russo-Finnish frontier. For the past year the conditions have materially improved, and exports and imports show a very large increase.

Finland imports from Russia foodstuffs, meat, and flour, and it sends to Russia paper, wood, iron, and manufactured goods. It is quite clear that when friendly relations are firmly established the trade of the two countries will prosper and develop, to their mutual benefit.

As the Russian press quite rightly pointed out, Russia must have the full right and opportunity to take requisite measures to protect herself against her enemies in case of war. A frontier within thirty miles of the capital and undefended is far too dangerous, as Finland fully realizes. Russia has a row of fortresses on the Finnish fjords, has the supervision of pilots, and the authority to mine all harbors and channels. She keeps stationed in Finland a whole army corps, and she can always use for military purposes the Finnish railway system. To these and similar rights the Finns have never objected.

Finland has free trade with Russia, and there have never been any custom-houses on the frontier. Russia, on the contrary, having a high tariff, has to keep her Finnish border closed by customs. The extension of the Russian custom frontier to Finland is quite impossible. It would ruin Finland and be a great burden to Russia. It could not increase the revenue of the latter to any extent, and would cost millions of rubles to guard the Finnish coast, for topographical reasons. This question is so well understood by the Russian Government that even under the Bobrikoff régime it was proposed only by the most ignorant.

Such are the relations between the two countries. Among the unsolved questions which are agitating the Russian nationalistic party are these: the question of citizenship of Russians in Finland, and vice versa; the civil service question; real estate ownership; and, last but not least, the military service of the Finns. The present laws give many privileges to the Finns, to which the Russians object. Russians have not the same positions in Finland that Finns have in Russia. This is certainly unjust, and was one of the reasons offered for the Russification of Finland. Happily, both Governments realize the necessity for a speedy agreement on these points. It is evident that the only way to settle them is by a mutual understanding of the Legislatures of both countries, the Duma of Russia and the Diet of Finland. Only by the decision of the representatives of both countries can they be settled, and only in one possible way—full mutual equality. Only by such an understanding will the root of grievances be extirpated and the door opened to the broad path of mutual help and development of brotherly relations of the two countries on their way to culture and progress.

Peaceful as the present relations are, it is nevertheless unfortunate that these remaining points of difference cannot be settled in the near future; but both countries are now in full process of reorganization of their system of national representation, so that temporarily all other questions must remain in abeyance.

Finland's representative reform will be submitted to the Diet in February, but it will be several months before the new Legislature can meet.

The reform now under consideration by a special committee, of which many professors are members, includes universal suffrage of all citizens twenty-one years old, without distinction of sex. The Legislature will probably consist of one House, as in Norway.

The Russian Duma can hardly meet before May, and will at the beginning have so many serious questions to settle that the points referred to must be held in abeyance. Such a postponement, though undesirable, cannot be avoided, and we can only hope that both countries will exercise patience and wait until their representatives can meet and amicably settle the points of difference and not disturb the peace and good understanding by hasty and violent action.

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OKLAHOMA AND INDIAN TERRITORY[1]

BY GRANT FOREMAN

THE discussion by Congress of the proposition to admit Oklahoma and Indian Territory as a State suggests just one important question—Is that section of the country ready for Statehood? There is nothing in the attitude of Congress toward the subject to suggest any doubt that the people of those so-called Territories wish to be united in one State; just what they desire in the premises, in fact, seems to be of secondary consideration.

In the month of July, 1905, a call was made by the Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes for a Constitutional Convention to assemble at Muskogee, Indian Territory, on August 21, 1905. At this Convention there assembled one hundred and eighty-two intelligent representative men, both Indians and white, delegates from every section of Indian Territory, presided over by Pleasant Porter, Chief of the Creek Tribe of Indians. In the treaties with all the Five Civilized Tribes it is provided that all their tribal governments shall pass wholly out of existence on March 4, 1906. To anticipate this situation, to provide some form of government to take the place of their own, and to provide for local government for people of all classes, it was proposed by this Convention to draft a Constitution and ask for the admission of Indian Territory into the Union.

The Convention laid out its work in a methodical manner, and labored industriously for a month. At the end of that time it had framed a Constitution that would be a credit to any State in the Union; it named the proposed State Sequoyah, after the illustrious Cherokee of that name who invented the Cherokee alphabet; it nominated four members for Congress (two Republicans and two Democrats), to go to Washington and work for the admission of the State of Sequoyah under its proposed Constitution; it declared in favor of Statehood for Indian Territory separate from Oklahoma, and submitted the whole to the people of Indian Territory to be voted on November 7, 1905—the first general election ever held in Indian Territory.

There is little room for doubt that Indian Territory and Oklahoma are both prepared for Statehood. Either would make a State more populous than any other State at the time of its admission; as populous as any one of eighteen of the States at the present time, and equal almost in area to the average size State east of the Mississippi, with taxable property greater than that of any one of four or five States.

To appreciate the desire for independent Statehood in Indian Territory, one must understand the anomalous relation of this domain to the United States. While called Indian Territory, this country has not even a Territorial form of government; now that the tribal governments are stripped of most of their powers and jurisdiction, it has less of local or representative government than Porto Rico, Alaska, or the Philippines, while possessing a citizenship superior in intelligence and morals to that of many of the States. The government is administered at long range by the rules and regulations of the Interior Department and by the United States Courts for Indian Territory. The people have no voice in the enactment of laws for their own government; they have not even a delegate in Congress, as has Oklahoma. Chafing under this order of things, the people of this country pray to be delivered from any form of government not of their own making and administration. And there are many who think they see in the anxiety of the people of Oklahoma for joint Statehood an intention to take the reins of government in their hands if joined in a State with Indian Territory, which would savor of the non-rep-

[1] See editorial comment elsewhere.—THE EDITORS.

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resentative government which is now so irksome to the people of Indian Territory.

If the Constitutional Convention referred to shall have accomplished no other result, it has furnished a powerful argument in demonstrating the fitness of the people of Indian Territory for Statehood, whether it be separate or joint Statehood; it has taken a step toward Statehood far in advance of anything done or attempted by the people of Oklahoma; and if these people must go into a Constitutional Convention with Oklahoma, they have demonstrated their right to demand equal terms with her. To give Oklahoma any advantage in a Constitutional Convention or in any of the branches of a joint State would be manifestly unfair. Indian Territory, with a population equal to that of Oklahoma—about 750,000—is vastly richer in resources, of which many—notably oil, gas, coal, and asphalt—are being turned into commercial channels to the extent of many millions annually. It contains unknown wealth of granite and marble, lead, zinc, and other minerals; its agricultural output and its taxable property are both greater than those of Oklahoma. The people of Indian Territory revolt at the idea of uniting in Statehood with a community which may levy tribute upon their vast wealth of resources for the maintenance of State institutions where they are now located in Oklahoma; whether their apprehensions are well founded or not, the feeling exists.

It is claimed by the advocates of separate Statehood that Congress owes it to Indian Territory in order to keep its pledge that it will prevent the introduction and sale of intoxicants in Indian Territory. In various treaties and agreements this promise has been made and it has been faithfully observed; to such an extent at least that it truthfully may be said that a state of prohibition comes nearer existing in Indian Territory than in any State in the Union. These people say they want to be free to handle the liquor question and continue prohibition under the terms of their Constitution, rather than be delivered into the hands of Oklahoma, already committed to the unrestricted liquor traffic. It is not denied that, in treaties with each of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory, Congress agreed in the most solemn manner never to make any part of their lands part of any State without their consent.

The movement for separate Statehood was manifested in Indian Territory by a campaign of education announcing the principles and logic upon which it rests. The opposition both in Indian Territory and Oklahoma answered that it was an appeal to sentiment; that the Administration is opposed to the policy; that Congress will not admit two States made out of the two Territories, and that there is no use contending for it; and through the newspapers, of which the opposition controls a majority in Indian Territory, it reproduced numerous interviews and letters of Senators and Congressmen committing themselves, in advance of the meeting of Congress, to joint Statehood and discouraging the separate Statehood idea; and it employed every possible argument to persuade the voters to stay away from the polls on November 7. Yet the result of the election on that day, as announced by the election board upon the sworn returns of the election judges, was 56,279 votes for separate Statehood and the Constitution, and 9,073 votes against. Without election machinery, without rival candidates to stimulate voters, and with no revenues to defray the expense of such an election, a total vote of 65,352 votes cast is significant of a deep interest in the question by the people of Indian Territory.

The result of this election was made known to every member of Congress, to be calmly ignored both by the Senate and the House. It is claimed that a large amount of misinformation concerning the separate Statehood movement has been given circulation by the newspapers. Numerous journals over the country have stated repeatedly that the movement is promoted by the railroads, when the fact is well known in Indian Territory that the railroads are exerting themselves vigorously in the interest of joint Statehood with Oklahoma. These papers have, with favorable comment, reproduced statements made by joint Statehood papers to the effect that less

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than 20,000 votes were cast at the Constitutional Convention, which, to one at all familiar with the facts, are palpably incorrect. There seems to have been a concerted effort to prevent any expression by the people of their wishes in the premises, and to deny that expression, when made, the publicity to which it is entitled.

Muskogee, Indian Territory.

KING FREDERIK AT HOME

BY JACOB A. RIIS

I HAD never met King Frederik—the Crown Prince he was then—until the summer of 1904, which we spent at Copenhagen. As a boy I had seen him often, and pulled off my cap to him, and always in return had received a bow and a friendly smile. But at home, and to speak to, I had not met him till that summer. We were at luncheon at our hotel one day, nothing further from our thoughts than princes and courts, when the *portier* came in hot haste to announce a royal lackey who wished speech with me. Right behind him up loomed the messenger, in his gold lace and with his silver-headed cane ever so much more imposing a figure than the King himself. "Their Royal Highnesses, the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess," so ran his message, "desired our attendance at dinner at Charlottenlund the next day but one."

"The dickens they do," I blurted out, fortunately in English, with a vision of silk hats and regalia of which I had none. But my wife pulled my sleeve and saved the day. "Would he thank their royal highnesses very much; we should be glad to come," was the way it went into Danish. Whereupon he bowed and went, leaving us staring helplessly at one another. I think we were both disposed to back out. But the children decided it otherwise. Of course we must go. Such an honor!

So we went. After all, it was simple enough. I just borrowed a top hat (that did not fit; I was glad to carry it in my hand in the presence of royalty, for it simply would not come down over my head; it was three sizes too small). The rest was easy. We drove out with the American Minister and his wife, who were invited too. It was for a long time after a disputed question in our family whether it was the cross of Dannebrog I wore on my breast, and therefore me, the sentinels saluted; or the American Minister. But he wore no cross. My wife insisted mischievously that it must be his carriage. Could she have seen herself, charming princes and princesses alike with her sweet and gracious ways, as she did every one she met, there would have been no mystery. Where she passed, everybody was made glad. They saluted from sheer desire to do it. And then, we were guests of royalty.

Charlottenlund lies in the forest just outside Copenhagen, on the beautiful shore road. It blew in from the water, and the ladies, on account of their hats, preferred to ride backwards. And so, chatting and laughing, we wheeled into the palace grounds before we knew we were half way, and found ourselves heading a procession of royal carriages bent for the palace. They were easily known by their scarlet-coated drivers. We had barely time to change round, to get our wives properly seated, when the door of the carriage was yanked open and lackeys swarmed to help the ladies. In we went. Almost before we could draw breath a door was thrown wide, our names were announced, and the Crown Princess came forward with outstretched hand.

"It was very good of you to come out to us," she said.

Our entrance had been so sudden, due to the hustle to make way for the princes following close upon us, and in thought and speech we had been so far away during the trip, that the Danish greeting left me for the moment dumb, groping my way four thousand miles across the sea. Slowly and laboriously,

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as it seemed to me, I found the tongue of my childhood again, but awkward beyond belief. This is what it said:

"How very respectable of you to ask us."

The Crown Princess looked at me a moment, uncertain what to think, then caught the look in my wife's face, and laughed outright. At which the Prince came up and heard the explanation, and we all laughed together. The next moment the room was filled with their children, and we were introduced right and left. It was all quite as neighborly and as informal as if we had been at home. Fine young people, all of them; finest of them all Prince Carl, who is now King Haakon of Norway. Handsome, frank, and full of fun and friendliness, he was both good to look at and to speak with; and in that he resembled his father. They all have the slender youthful shape of the old King. But for his furrowed face and the tired look that often came into it in the last few years, no one would have thought him over fifty, though he was nearly ninety. The Crown Prince at sixty-one seemed barely forty.

My wife was taken in to dinner by a prince, a shy, boyish young fellow, whose great ambition, he confided to her, was to live in a New York sky-scraper and shoot up and down in the elevator, which was entirely contrary to her inclinations, and she told him so. I was not so lucky, but I shall always remember that evening with unalloyed pleasure for the hearty and unaffected hospitality of our hosts and of everybody. The Crown Prince talked of America and its people with warm appreciation, and of President Roosevelt as a chief prop of the world's peace, at the very time when some people at home were yet shouting that he was a firebrand. He thought him a wonderful man, and we did not disagree. The thing that especially challenged his admiration was his capacity for work—for getting things done. That any one could get access to him in a nation of eighty millions, and get a hearing if he was entitled to one, seemed to him marvelous. He was interested in everything done for the toiler in our great cities, and heard with visible interest of the progress we were making in the search for the lost neighbor. The talk strayed to the unhappy conditions in Russia, the Jewish massacres, and the threatening unrest. My wife was expressing her horror at the things we read, and I began to feel that we were skating on very thin ice, seeing that the Czar was the Crown Prince's nephew, when I heard him say to her, with great earnestness, "You may believe that if my sister had the influence many think, many a burden would be eased for that unhappy people." And my heart swelled with gratitude, for Crown Prince Frederik's sister, the Czar's mother, was the sweet Princess Dagmar whom every Danish boy loved when I was one of them, unless he were the sworn knight of Alexandra, her beautiful sister.

After dinner we strayed through the garden that lies in the shelter of the deep beech forest, and when it was bedtime the boys, including my wife's cavalier, came to kiss their father good-night. It was all as sweet a picture of family happiness as if it were our own White House at home, and it did us good to witness. I think our host saw it, for when we shook hands at the leave-taking he said: "You have seen now how happily and simply we live here, and I am glad you came. Now, take back with you my warm greeting to your great President, and tell him that we all of us admire him and trust him, and are glad of the prosperity of his people—your people."

He had expressed a wish to my wife to read our story, and I sent to London for a copy of "The Making of an American," which he fell to reading at once, according to his habit. They say in Denmark that he reads everything and never forgets anything, and has it all at his fingers' end always. I had proof of that when we next met. It was in Ribe, my old town at the North Sea, where he had come with the King and the whole royal house to open the Domkirke, restored after the wear and decay of nine centuries. I was coming out of our hotel at seven in the morning, and in the Square ran plumb into a gentleman in a military cloak, who had a young man for

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company, and a girl of fifteen or sixteen.

"Good-morning, Mr. Riis," said he. "I hope you are well, and your wife, since last we met."

It must surely be that I am getting old and foolish. The voice I knew; there are few as pleasing. But the man—. I stood and looked at him, while a smile crept over his features and broadened there. All at once I knew.

"But, good gracious, your Royal Highness," I said, "who would expect to find you here before any one is up and stirring. You are really yourself to blame."

He laughed. "We are early risers, my children and I. We have been up and out since six o'clock." And so they had, I learned afterwards, to the despair of the cook at the Bishop's house where they were staying. He introduced his son and daughter. "And now," said the Prince with a smile that had a challenge in it, "where do you suppose we have been? Down at the river to look at the bridge where you first met your wife. You see, I have read your book. But we did not find it."

I explained that the Long Bridge had been but a memory these twenty years, but to me a very dear one, and he nodded brightly, "Give her my warm regards." She was glad when I told her, for her loyal heart had made room for him beside his sweet sisters from our childhood. When the lilacs bloomed again, I was alone, and he sent me a message of sorrow and sympathy. And because of that, for his liking of her, I shall always love him.

They told no end of stories of the delight he had given by this gift, so invaluable in a public man, of remembering and recognizing men, even after the lapse of years. One peasant, come to town to see the show, was halted by Prince Frederik in the market square, as was I, and greeted as an old comrade. They had been recruits together in one regiment; for the royal princes in Denmark have to serve in the ranks with their fellow-citizens. They are not made generals at birth. In Copenhagen I was told that the Prince kept tab on all that went on in the Rigsdag, and the man without convictions dreaded nothing so much as his long memory; with reason, it would seem, for not long before, when a certain member of the Opposition made a troublesome speech, the Crown Prince calmly brought out his scrap-book and showed the embarrassed Minister where the same man had taken the exactly opposite stand half a score of years before. It is not hard to understand how a memory like that might become potent in the deliberations of a parliamentary body, particularly among a people with a keen sense of the ridiculous, like the Danes. However, they have something better than that. They are, above all, a loyal people, and King Frederik starts out with their real affection as his working capital. He is as popular as was his father, though in a different way. I have never seen anything more touching or more creditable to a people than the way the Danes put aside their claims when the dispute between them and King Christian's Ministers over constitutional rights became bitter, and the King, loyal himself to the backbone, would not let the Ministers go. "He is of the past that does not comprehend," they said, "but he is our good old King and we love him." And the clouds blew over, and the people and their ruler were united in an affection that wiped out every trace of resentment. The new King is of the present. He knows his people, and they trust him with the love they gave his father. One does not need to be a prophet to predict for the prosperous Danish land happy days in store under King Frederik VIII. and his house.

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A REMARKABLE PERSONALITY
THOMAS K. BEECHER

BY W. S. B. MATHEWS

SOMETIME in the early "seventies" an article appeared in the Chicago "Advance" giving an account of a certain new church building proposed by the congregation of the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, in Elmira, New York. The building, according to this story, was to be unlike anything then existing, being intended for social and educational purposes quite as much as for the formally religious uses customary with church edifices. Besides the usual auditorium and Sunday-school room, this building had a gymnasium, a reading-room, a library, and in the upper stories of the after part of the church a suite of rooms designed for entertaining, the large ones for general purposes of the societies of the church, the smaller to be loaned to the poorer members, after due notice in advance, for their own personal entertaining of friends. There were suitable parlors, dining-rooms, cloak-rooms, and kitchens, fully provided with utensils, crockery, etc. Here any person, upon receiving permission, could bring her supplies and give a dinner to her friends, with all the conveniences of the higher society, yet at no expense beyond the arbitrary outlay for service and articles of food. In short, the proposed Beecher Church in Elmira was meant to be, and in fact proved to be (and I suppose still is), one of the first, if not the very first, "People's Palaces" ever erected. All this was interesting. But this was not the point which most attracted me in the article.

The queer thing was the way the money had been voted and raised. All of us who do church business in evangelical circles know what an energetic "effort" it requires to denude a congregation of what it truthfully calls its "substance" in an amount sufficient to build a large church. And I had myself been living in the shadow of a large enterprise of that kind. Hence my interest in this story, which was about as follows:

It appeared that a few Sundays previously Mr. Beecher, at the close of the Sunday morning service, made a few remarks. He said, substantially: "When I came to Elmira, the First Congregational Church was perhaps the worst church building in Elmira. That was twenty years ago. I think the building has held its own ever since. I do not think it will fall down for some time yet, although there is an apparent weakness in the roof over yonder, which I will have Brother Jones look at to-morrow and see whether it is still safe. Several times since I have been here the question of a new church has been advocated. I have always opposed the idea, because I knew that you were not ready. I did not wish you to get subscription on the brain, and run races to see who should put down the largest sum; nor was I willing to leave a part of the cost on mortgage. Whenever there is a mortgage on a church, the devil holds the mortgage, and the religious life in that church inevitably dies. A new church is not necessary to me. I can preach in the park in the warm weather and in a hall in winter; or I can do as the Lord himself did—preach from house to house. What I am here for is the life of religion in your souls, and preaching is but a minor question.

"Still, there are advantages in a suitable building. I have been talking with an architect, and I find that it is likely to cost about fifty thousand dollars to build such a church as I think we ought to have, if we have a new one. Therefore I am going to put it to you this morning to vote. On the table in front of the pulpit is a box of envelopes directed to me, and in each envelope is a card with blanks. Write your name and address. Then vote on the ques-

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tions: First, Do we need a new church, and are you in favor of building it now? Yes or No. Second, How much will you give in one payment towards it? Third, How much could you give in three payments towards it?

"Take plenty of time to think it over, and return the envelope to me within five weeks from yesterday. I will open them five weeks from to-day. If the majority decides to have a new church and the amount pledged is sufficient, we will have one. Do not tell any one how you mean to vote; do not talk it over with any one except your wife. What I want is a vote of individuals."

Within a few days the envelopes began to flow back; within the week all were back; yet Beecher was true to his word; he waited out his five weeks, then he opened the envelopes. The vote was practically unanimous for the new church, and the amount pledged aggregated about eighty thousand dollars. The church was forthwith ordered and was then building. The article was signed Mark Twain.

Now, Mark Twain in those days was not widely known as an evangelical worker or as a writer whose stories could be taken invariably at their face value. Therefore the wonderful story stood out forcibly, and created an intense interest to know about how much of it was true, for nothing had then been printed to throw light upon the processes of education which had been operating upon the Elmira congregation for twenty years. Being then a young man of confiding nature, I straightway wrote to Mr. Beecher, asking how much of the story was true. (I did not then know that Mark Twain was Beecher's brother-in-law—they having, I believe, married sisters.) In due time I got a short note from Mr. Beecher, saying that within a few days he would be visiting in Chicago at his sister's, on Ann Street, and if I would call upon such a day he would be glad to tell me more about it.

Upon the hour I called. I found Mr. Beecher then about forty-five or fifty years old, a strong face, but not with the peculiar mouth of the orator, such as his brother Henry Ward Beecher had, and such as Henry Clay had in a striking degree. Some of the particulars given above were from what he told me then. I learned that he was to make an informal address that evening before the theological students of the seminary at Union Park. I asked and received permission to attend, and took a friend with me, upon whom the man and the address made as profound an impression as they did upon me.

The talk was made in a hall, a classroom, I think, Beecher remaining seated upon a low platform; the class numbered perhaps thirty or forty, nice serious fellows, maybe a trifle too serious in spots for perfect health. This happens sometimes.

He took for text the verse, "Beware of the leaven of Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." He went on to say that the word hypocrisy had undergone a change of meaning since the English Bible had been made, and had acquired later a meaning which was not what Christ had in mind. By hypocrisy Christ meant that state of mind in which the machine and its smooth working becomes an object for its own sake; it did not mean intentional insincerity. He thought that the Pharisees were perhaps the most sincere religionists of the Jews in the time of Christ; the trouble was not with their sincerity, but with their conception of religion, which they made out to be a matter of formal observances. He thought the danger of the kind of hypocrisy which Christ meant to be peculiarly strong with priests, preachers, and ministers, who, standing as the immediate representatives of God himself, became filled with a sense of their own importance, even their indispensability; that this feeling suffused everything they did to such an extent as seriously to impair their usefulness, and in some cases destroyed it entirely. He then went on for some time with a beautiful discourse on the usefulness of the ministry and the privilege of assuaging sorrow and of awakening broken hearts to hope and new life. It was simply a talk by an old minister to a class of neophytes not yet entered into the work. It pointed out the danger, but at the same time magnified the office of the ministry in terms likely to last them a long time.

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After the talk there were questions. One asked whether he thought it advisable to preach hell, *i. e.*, the eternal destruction of the wicked. Beecher became extremely affected, and seemed likely to burst into tears. He controlled himself, and answered in a voice full of deep feeling that every man must decide this for himself. He, personally, had never felt himself at liberty to preach the doctrine, for fear of discouraging a seeking soul. At this, one of those very conscientious young men rose up and asked: "But, Mr. Beecher, would not you have us stand up for the truth?"

There was a moment of silence for the poser to strike in. Then Beecher, in a quiet voice, but with deep significance, spoke this apothegm:

"Truth is eternal; it is part of God. If you will give it a chance, the truth will stand up for you."

This was one of those things which Beecher could do: give you a volume in a nutshell, when an occasion arose. I doubt whether any person who heard that sentence will ever forget it.

Upon a later occasion, during this same visit, Mr. Beecher gave me more particulars of the old church. He said that it was terribly cold in winter. "To give you an idea," he said, "water froze one Sunday in a glass by my side on the pulpit while I was preaching. I saw that many in the congregation were awfully cold. So I stopped my sermon and remarked: 'I see that some of you appear uncomfortable, and it certainly is cold here. As for me personally, I was never more comfortable. I have on two pairs of trousers and arctic overshoes." He had on his overcoat, and, opening this, he showed a cardigan jacket over his undercoat. "So if any are cold, you had better go out now, while I wait. It is far better to go home and get warm than stay here and take cold." So a few souls, too frozen to stay, went out, and then Beecher resumed his sermon, and I doubt not gave those who remained ample cause to be thankful that they had done so.

Some months later, while I was engaged in a summer school at Binghamton, New York, Mr. Beecher came down and gave us his lecture upon Church Music. It was a good discourse, but I do not remember much of it now. Afterwards we had a long talk, and as Dr. Mason and I were walking home with Mr. Beecher, he remarked that during the time he had been in Elmira there had been I forget how many pastors of the other churches—it was a large number, very large. Whereupon I remarked: "Mr. Beecher, you must have a great business in weddings and funerals, owing to your extended personal acquaintance." "Well," he answered, "perhaps in weddings I have my share and more; but in funerals I rather lost my reputation in my first years." This filled us with curiosity to know what he meant, whereupon he told the following story:

"When I first came to Elmira," he said, "I was called to conduct a funeral in the country at a school-house. A man about forty years old had died. I went to the place—it was a very hot day in summer—and found that the mourners had arrived in advance of the hearse with the coffin. The widow was a splendid-looking woman, with jet-black hair and eyes, rather well rounded, and well dressed. She was chatting pleasantly with those next her in a low voice. I took my seat in the desk and we waited. Presently the hearse arrived and they prepared to bring in the body. As they began, I began to read the usual sentences, such as 'I am the resurrection and the life'—you know them. The minute she heard my voice she began to cry violently and vociferously. I stopped and she stopped. After a moment I went on reading. With the first sound of my voice she began her vociferation. I stopped, and so did she. I remarked, 'If I am to conduct these services, it will be necessary to have quiet.' That woman slid one side of her handkerchief off from one eye and gave me the most devilish look I have ever received in my life. If she could, she would have annihilated me then and there. But she did not set up her wailing again when I went on with the service. Things like this damage a man's funereal popularity."

He then went on with something like this: "But with my own people, if I may say so without being misunderstood, funerals are among the most precious

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meetings we have. I have done everything in my power to free them from that pagan fear of death, and when I go to the house (for we never have public funerals), I find the mourners sitting around, and I greet them all pleasantly, and we speak appreciatively of the deceased and of his work, and then I read some comforting passages and we sing hymns of heaven and have a short prayer and carry the body away."

Thomas Beecher was a strong and most incisive personality. I think him the strongest of all the children of that patriarch in Congregational Israel, Dr. Lyman Beecher. When Thomas was a boy of fifteen or younger, he used to act as amanuensis for his father, writing the sermons which the old man dictated while walking the floor of the study. Lyman Beecher was a character, and he had the prevailing knack of his day of making the strongest and baldest foreordination, foreknowledge, and predestination agree perfectly with the idea of free grace. It is a high mental trick, that, to have a thing unavoidably and unalterably certain and yet contingent. The Beecher boys could never manage it, Tom least of all. When the doctrine had passed a certain danger point, Tom used to brace himself and break in with, "Father, I do not think that is so." Then he would state his difficulty. Whereupon the father squared off to the argument, and Beecher said that sometimes they argued for two hours on the stretch. His father got warmer and warmer under the collar; but he was good stuff, and knew a "free moral agent" when he saw one, and he knew that his son Tom was of that kind. He used to say, "Tom, Tom, I am perfectly ready to be convinced, but you haven't the arguments." "Whereas," said Tom, "the angel Gabriel, with fresh credentials from heaven, could not have changed father's mind."

So this Beecher got far away from the lines of the family doctrine, and, although strongly biased to the pulpit, he could neither accept what passed for orthodoxy nor yet throw down the bars entirely and go into Unitarianism, which was just then the current dissent. So he got to a period when he realized Christ as the great example and pattern, but ignored all the rest of his training. In this stress after leaving college he went to Philadelphia to teach a ward school, and his one principle was that he "ought to teach that school as Christ would have taught it." It was a day of routine memorizing of books, an ignoring of principles, and of vigorous corporal punishments. Naturally, the latter seemed widest of all from what Christ would have had.

"To give you an idea of the discipline of that school," he said, "one day I asked a boy, 'Brown, shut the door, please.' Brown answered, 'See you in hell first.'" "In that case," answered Beecher, sweetly, "I will shut it myself," and so he did. This went on for several weeks, the order getting worse and worse, until one day it was so bad and so little seemed to have been gained that some insolence from one of the large boys entirely broke him down, and he put his head down upon his arms on his desk and sobbed aloud like a baby, with discouragement and grief. "Then," he said, "I prayed; and my prayer was little more than that of the shipwrecked sailor who said, 'O Lord; if there be a Lord, now is the time to put in his oar.'

"A few days later there was a sensation in the spelling-lesson. It was that page in Webster's speller, Baker, Maker, etc., and when several had been spelled in the usual perfunctory manner, one boy grasped his head with his hands and rushed into the middle of the room saying, 'I see it, I see it!' 'Well, Jones, what do you see?' I asked. 'Oh, I see,' he answered, 'e-r, one who' (baker, one who bakes, etc.), and it went through the room, and eventually the school, like an electric shock. From that moment on the school began to learn."

"And what of Brown and the discipline?" I asked. "Oh," answered Beecher, "there was no need of discipline; the school, being anxious to learn, disciplined itself."

"And what of Brown?" I persisted. "Brown," he answered, "got very fond of me and followed me about, like a dog, everywhere I would go, thankful if he could only see me and now and then get

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a word. When I left Philadelphia for good," he went on, "it was by boat; Brown was out as far as he could get on a spar which projected beyond the pier, and with a great bandana handkerchief was alternately waving it to me and wiping his eyes. Brown was a good fellow and he has made a good man."

And so it came about that Thomas Beecher realized that the family vocation was pressing him more and more, and, after due study, his ordination was to take place. When the day came, his heart failed. Calling his brother Henry Ward to one side (for he was to give the "charge" to the new minister), he said: "Brother, I am afraid to go on. I think I see my way to preach about a year; I will then be preached out, and will have nothing further to give them. I am afraid!" Whereupon Henry answered, "Oh, brother, if you preach Christ one year, you will never stop!"

Thomas K. Beecher was not a natural orator like the versatile and poetic Henry Ward Beecher; he was, as he himself said, "a teacher." What he sought to do was to educate his people. As an example of his unconventionality, this story was told me by a friend in Elmira. On his way to church one Sunday morning he saw a poor woman sawing wood by her little cabin. He placed his hand on the fence and vaulted over in his hearty way, and, pulling off his coat as he came, took the saw out of her hands and went on sawing. "My good woman," he asked, "is it necessary for you to do this work to-day?" She answered that it was; that she had been out "cleaning yesterday, and had gotten home very late and too dead tired to prepare her Sunday wood." "Well," said Beecher, putting on his coat, for he had done enough, "the next time you get in this fix, please let me know on Saturday, and I will send some one to prepare some for you; it doesn't look well for a preacher to be sawing wood on Sunday."

He was very ready, and gifted with curt ways of saying things. For instance, he said one day: "When any of my people leave Elmira to live in New York, they always want letters to join Plymouth Church [his brother's]. They might as well join Broadway!" This referred, naturally, to the crowds and the continual hurry and change at Plymouth, which was then a sort of evangelical cathedral of the Northern States.

Preachers used to come down to Elmira to investigate the story of how he raised the money for his church. When they had taken it all in, the confiding souls would remark, "I will go right home and start this way of raising money in my church!" "They might as well say they would go home and start an oyster shell," said Beecher.

He was very fond of music, as were all his tribe. Lowell Mason used to lead his father's choir in Boston, and his oldest sister Catherine used to practice on the organ, and Tom had to blow—in other words, to pump—the bellows, a difficult job for a growing boy. Tom used to get the work done on the principle by which Tom Sawyer got the back fence painted—charging the other boys something for a chance to pump so many minutes. Meanwhile Tom used to lie on the pulpit sofa and listen to the Bach fugue with which the faithful Catherine was wrestling. One day, in this occupation, he suddenly became conscious of a beautiful melody floating high up above the fugue; it did not seem to be anything which his sister played, but something outside of it, above it. He cried out to his sister, "Oh, sister I hear it, I hear it!" "What do you hear?" she answered. "I hear this," and he whistled the melody. "I have heard it all the time," she replied.

Beecher was never settled in Elmira. He came there, and on invitation decided to preach a while for them, but declined to be settled until he found out whether they would want him. He remained there, I suppose, toward forty years. And if any man belonged to Elmira more than he did, I never heard his name. For instance, one day when the present writer was giving an organ lesson in the Presbyterian church in Binghamton, Beecher came in to hear some music. I was curious to know how he chanced to be there. It came out that the town of Elmira had sent him down to examine two iron bridges in Binghamton, of competing patterns, one or the other of which was to serve

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as a model in Elmira for the principal bridge across the river, as Beecher should decide. I have no doubt he decided upon sound principles. He was a man who could.

In his early years at Elmira the Sunday-school was a great trial to Mr. Beecher, but, as he himself said, he "never hurried anything." When he had been in Elmira about a year, it began to dawn upon the more acute that between the conventionality and want of result in the Sunday-school and the preaching there was a difference of kind, and not simply of degree. So they waited upon Mr. Beecher and asked whether he would superintend the school. Beecher's first question was whether they wanted him to be an ordinary superintendent or an extraordinary superintendent. The committee looked at one another in dismay, the distinction being, in Southern phrase, a "huckleberry beyond their persimmon;" and they asked what he meant. Whereupon Beecher defined:

"The ordinary superintendent," he said, "strikes the bell, gives out a hymn, makes the opening prayer, and then walks around and looks important until time to do the same things again and close the school."

This sounded realistic to the committee, and they inquired what the extraordinary superintendent did to fill up the time. "The extraordinary snperintendent," said Beecher, "makes it his business to see that the teachers and children all learn something worth while out of the Word of God."

This was too indefinite for the committee, and so they let it go as it was for about another year, by which time the Beecher leaven had begun to work to such an extent that the Sunday-school was plainly out of touch with it. So they came again to Mr. Beecher and capitulated in full, if only he would take charge of the school. Accordingly he did so.

He called a meeting of the teachers and laid down the new rules, which were that strict attendance was imperative, not one Sunday and then a Sunday absent; and that every teacher must learn the lesson perfectly. All unable or unwilling to agree to these conditions were to resign then and there, and he would find others to take their places. It was a brave congregation, and they mostly stuck. Whereupon Beecher taught them the lesson and what it meant. Then he adjourned for Sunday. When the school had been called to order, the teachers had a genuine surprise. Beecher announced that every teacher would now proceed to recite the text of the lesson to her class, and the class was directed to watch for mistakes. It went on. Then the classes recited in turn, and then the new rules were given out. They were three in number:

Perfect attendance, except for unavoidable cause.

Every pupil to know the lesson perfectly.

Every pupil to put something in the collection.

Upon the latter point he elaborated at some length. He said it was not the money he was most after, but the habit of responsibility and of bearing one's fair share in all co-operative enterprises. Therefore he ordained that the contribution should be at least one cent. He preferred them to earn this cent by some little errand rather than to ask their father or mother for it at the last minute. And when through poverty or ill fortune a cent was not obtainable, the pupil should cut out a little piece of paper, round like a cent., write "one cent" on one side and sign his name on the other. This perfected his status concerning the contribution, for he knew that no one would avail himself of this unless it was necessary.

To all who were perfect for the Sundays of six months the church would present, at the morning service, a New Testament, suitably inscribed. These rules had been in force for several years when he was telling me. He went on: "I wish you could have been there last Sunday, for it was my Testament Sunday. The class numbered about thirty; some were over sixty years old; one was a washerwoman; then there were small children not over seven or eight. They stood in line in front of the pulpit, one of our best deacons about midway, waiting for his Testament like the others. And I made them a little speech on the

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principle of having done well 'as rulers over a few things,' and gave them their books with my writing in them, the date and the period during which the perfect record had been earned."

I remember that Mr. Beecher told me that he had been seduced one year into joining the International series of lessons; but he did not find them to answer his purpose, so ever since that time he had made his own course, taking care to cover the essentials of Biblical knowledge within a reasonable series of years. He also told me that he had a great deal of trouble in limiting his Sunday-school to his own church as nearly as he could, owing to the lack of room in the church for the large numbers who desired to come; I think he also hated to seem to be intruding into the sphere of the other pastor's influence.

When I knew him his attitude with regard to alcohol was not that of Miss Willard. Naturally, as a Christian minister he was in the fullest compass of the term "a temperance man," but he was not a total abstainer upon principle. I was told that in his later years circumstances brought home to him new views of this danger to manhood, whereupon he became one of the most strenuous opponents of the whisky traffic. We had conversations upon this subject, but no clear outlines now remain.

The impression which Mr. Beecher made upon me was that of a singularly clear-headed Christian teacher, or perhaps more properly of a prophet of God, a teacher of the principles of right human living in the world that now is; and of course a firm believer in the glories of the life beyond. He was a great man; a character contact with whom inevitably left a deep impression.

THE TOWN-MEETING

BY GEORGE E. GOOGINS

THE town-meeting is one of the oldest and most democratic of our civil institutions. It is typically a New England institution, where it still survives and flourishes with all its ancient veneration and spirit. It has been in vogue since the arrival of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts Bay, and is one of the corner-stones of our American system of government. In fact, the American system is substantially a compromise between the town-meeting of New England and the old House of Burgesses in Virginia—a cross between a Cavalier and a Puritan. In Colonial days the New England town was both democratic and puritanic, and the town-meeting was a place where were put into practice the principles of personal liberty, the voting of taxes by the people, and the responsibility of public officials to the municipality. And these are still the prime objects of the town-meeting. The town-meeting embodies the idea of government by the people—not indirectly, like the old House of Burgesses of Colonial Virginia, but directly, by the people themselves. It is proof to the people that an election is more than an assemblage of voters for the purpose of dividing the spoils. In the town-meeting, Democracy sits enthroned, and

"The Pilgrim's vision is accomplished here!"

Men of wealth and education discuss public affairs and hobnob with those of lesser fortunes and fewer educational attainments. All mingle together about a common ballot-box, and in the annual meeting discuss and settle important questions affecting the future welfare of the town. Where is the ballot-box purer than at an annual town-meeting in New England?

Town-meeting day to the average countryman is full of significance, and he thinks more of it than of any other day of the whole year. It means more to him than does the Fourth of July or Labor Day, and he shows his interest in municipal affairs when the day comes round by presenting himself promptly at the town hall. The town-meeting is the only show on earth that is sure of its

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audience. Positively no postponement on account of the weather! Every male citizen is a star performer, and each assumes personal responsibility for the success of the exhibition. And the town-meeting is always a success.

Every male inhabitant of the age of twenty-one (paupers and Indians not taxed excluded) is allowed the privilege of voting and taking part in the town-meeting. This privilege could not be wrested from the people without a struggle. Only sickness or inevitable accident can keep the citizen away from the annual meeting. He may shirk his duty elsewhere, but never in town-meeting. He votes according to the dictates of his conscience, and takes part in the debates with the freedom and dignity of a Clay or a Webster. The average citizen will find his name wanting in the jury-box without feeling the slightest regret, or will sometimes dodge jury service; but his indignation would know no bounds should he be informed by the moderator on town-meeting day that his name had been inadvertently omitted from the voting list. The citizen who would absent himself from the town-meeting without good cause would run the risk of public criticism and would not elevate himself in the scale of public estimation. No responsibility is so essential to good citizenship as that of being present at the annual town-meeting, and the average man performs the duty most willingly.

The first that any of us know about the approaching town-meeting is when we see the warrant up in the post-office warning the inhabitants of the town to meet at the town-house at nine o'clock in the forenoon on the fifth day of March, A.D. 1906, and there choose by ballot a moderator, town clerk, three selectmen, treasurer, school committee, and all other necessary town officers; also to take action on a score of articles enumerated in said warrant. The warrant is issued in the name of the State, signed by the selectmen and the constable. This is the regular annual call, which is usually posted up in some conspicuous place two or three weeks before the day of the meeting. The call is a forerunner of the grand day coming. Everybody begins to talk town-meeting, and the crowd at the corner grocery increases from day to day. Aspiring candidates get to work in earnest, and begin to put up their political fences, which are down in spots, if not all along the line. The annual election is right upon them.

In most New England towns the annual election is held usually in March or April. After a long, cold winter, the event ushers in the new spring. It is the first holiday of the season, and everybody in the town, old and young, male and female, turns out and gives presence and inspiration to the occasion. It is an occasion you city folk know nothing of. It is a great day in the country, and the citizens enjoy it. The meeting always opens on time and with a bang. Every precinct is represented, and the little hall is crowded.

The little town-house, unpainted and with sharp, sloping roof, stands at the fork of the roads, in the center of the town. There is a cordon of horses and sleighs and pungs around it on this morning—all kinds of rigs, such as you might see in the city. There is nothing so very countrified about these people nowadays. The farmers drive into town on annual meeting-day with stylish turnouts, matched bays, and double-seated pungs, the best that money can buy. The days of the ox-team and the homely old rigs that were once in evidence at town-meeting are gone forever. The country folk are up-to-date in everything now, and you can hardly distinguish them in dress and manners from the city folk.

Every seat in the hall is taken, and standing room is hardly available. Every citizen feels himself an important factor in the problem of municipal government; and he is. Men do not forget that in serving the community they are at the same time serving their country. Men who will allow themselves to be pulled about and voted by scheming politicians at State and National elections refuse to be dictated to here. The people are supreme, and the majority rules in open town-meeting. This is the day when men leave their farm work and business cares to discharge their duties to their town, and they do not find the task either onerous or unpleasant. Men en-

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joy the fun, the association, and receive a direct benefit from the proceedings. The town-meeting is a source of incalculable good and a means of education to many men. There is always much to be learned there, including business, parliamentary law, and, above all, human nature. Notwithstanding the fact of its existence for three hundred years, the town-meeting has its enemies. There are iconoclasts who would destroy it if they could have their way. However, its enemies are among those who doubt the ability of the people to rule themselves.

The town-meeting has a ludicrous feature oftentimes, and there are situations which to the spectator seem farcical; yet, on the whole, the system gives general satisfaction in small towns. Like the jury system, it is not likely that any better substitute will be offered to replace it. The people can be depended upon to do the right thing when it comes to a test. When the majority of the people rule, as they do in the towns, the government is usually satisfactory, and there is very little complaining among the citizens. Not so when the people are ruled by chosen representatives over whom they have no control for the time being. When power is delegated, it is liable to abuse. The only true democracy is where the people vote, choose their own rulers, and make their own laws; of this the town-meeting is the best instance. The system, however, is applicable only to towns, it being too unwieldy in places of large population.

The meeting comes to order when the clerk arises and in trembling, half-audible tones announces the objects of the meeting, and reads the town warrant. Then a moderator is chosen and the business of the meeting is begun. The election of officers comes first on the day's programme.

"Bring in your votes, gentlemen, for the first selectman," thunders the moderator, snapping out each syllable separately.

This announcement is usually followed by a volley of cheers for the different candidates in the field; and then ensues a wild, mad scramble for the ballot-box. If there happens to be a contest on, the excitement is intense; but if the same old board is to be given a re-election, then only slight interest is manifested by the voters.

"Votes all in?" inquires the moderator.

"No! no!" comes the reply.

The crowd of free suffragists continues to jostle and surge around the ballot-box, like angry seas about a derelict. The scene is a picturesque one, and the excitement of it all is quite enough to hold one's interest. Everything goes along smoothly, until some fellow who is a trifle the worse off for liquor staggers up to the ballot-box and persists in voting the second time. But the moderator sees him and excludes the ballot. That is one of the sad features of a town meeting.

National politics and party prejudice are wanting in the town-meeting. Party lines are not drawn, though sectionalism is often responsible for strife in the town-meeting. When a new town hall or school-house is to be erected by the town, everybody wants the building located in his district, where it will be of the most convenience to himself. To settle the question of where a public building should stand has been known to require three town-meetings. Before the settlement was made the people divided, and one-half of the town threatened to secede from the other.

The principal officer in the town-meeting is the moderator. He is to the town assembly what the speaker is to a legislative body. He is vested with much power and authority, and his word is law in all decisions pertaining to the meeting. From his decisions there is no appeal. He is accepted as authority on parliamentary law, and, when armed with a copy of the revised statutes and Cushing's Manual, he is invincible. The office is no sinecure, however, and is a trying one to the man who wishes to conduct the meeting with fairness and impartiality. The moderator is usually a man of character and high standing in the town. He is generally respected, and no one makes serious objection to his rulings. The moderator has the power to authorize the constable to remove any person from the assembly

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who does not conduct himself according to the usages of civilization. He is at all times master of the situation. The moderator who can manage a town-meeting with the least possible friction among the citizens is usually awarded a vote of thanks and three dollars per day by the Assembly.

Formerly the moderator was expected to be a man physically capable of quelling any riot or disturbance which might suddenly arise, without the assistance of the constable. A lively tilt at debate often terminated in a fistic combat, and the moderator who would not stop the fight was not asked to serve at the next annual meeting. But the standard of morals, as well as of living, has been raised in the country, and men have adjusted themselves to the new conditions. The average citizen knows his place in modern society, and strives to keep it. Fistic combats at the polls are not so common now as in the old days. Men have learned to govern their political prejudices, their tempers and emotions, and are not so pugilistic as were some of their sires. Sobriety and reason predominate now in the body politic.

And the crowd one sees about the town-house now is not the same in personal appearance as that which congregated there thirty or forty years ago. At the town-meeting you see more college-bred men, more fine horses, more tailor-made suits, and you breathe a different atmosphere both socially and politically. Jeffersonian simplicity is the exception rather than the rule even at the New England town-meeting. Men still possess their own peculiar prejudices and dislikes against aristocratic tendencies; but the trend of public sentiment in the country is toward refinement, and toward a government based upon intelligence and a free, unhampered ballot.

The town, as a rule, is free from political chicanery, and the art of grafting is unknown to those who manage the affairs of the municipality. A dishonest town official is never re-elected, and, more than that, if he has committed any offense he is immediately punished. Those who seek the public offices are prompted by pride and ambition to be honored by their fellow-citizens, rather than by the salaries paid. There are no high salaries in the town. Notwithstanding, there are many candidates in the field, each striving to be exalted above the others by the votes of the citizens. To be chairman of the board of selectmen in any country town is the ambition of every citizen, yet this honor can fall only upon a few. It is an honor coveted by those who are qualified to fill the position. The best men stand ready to accept responsible positions in country towns; and, practically, they serve without pay.

The town-meeting is an excellent school for the young man who has political aspirations. Notable men have come from the town-meeting and sat in Congress, but this might have been due to their own native energy, rather than to any superlative virtues of the town-meeting as a school of statesmanship. But in the town-meeting is found an opportunity for the embryonic orator to develop his art. He can make as many speeches as he desires if only he confines his talk to the questions before the house. More than one finished orator got his schooling here.

There is a sociability at town-meeting not enjoyed at any other public meeting. Men meet their fellows on equal footing, and exchange ideas on every imaginable subject, from farming to the building of the Panama Canal. It serves many as a market-place where merchandise is bought and sold, and more than one shrewd trade is consummated before the meeting adjourns. For swapping horses the town-meeting is an ideal place, and more than one farmer drives away with an unknown horse, having made the "shift" while the work of legislating for the town was still proceeding. There is only one occasion affording better opportunities for horse-shifting, and that is the country fair. It is not unusual to have the wheels of municipal legislation stopped by the horse-traders. The moderator is saying, "Gentlemen, listen to the reading of the report—" And then comes the interruption in this fashion: "I'll give ye ten dollars to boot, and throw in the old Concord waggin." Then the constable interferes at a critical moment, and a good trade (for somebody)

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is peremptorily spoiled. The business of the assembly is resumed.

All the officers are usually elected during the morning session, and then, after dinner, the articles in the warrant are taken up, duly discussed, and passed upon by the citizens. This, of course, is the most important part of the whole meeting, since it involves the responsibility of appropriating money to be expended for the town during the ensuing year. The watch-dogs are promptly on hand to check any tendency toward undue extravagance or any wanton waste of the public fund. The cry of retrenchment and economy is often heard, but the usual amount of money is always appropriated, for the majority favors a liberal support of the public schools, the building of good roads, and a reasonable outlay in every department of municipal requirement.

But these measures are not adopted without considerable debate, or before the local orators have been given a chance to display their ability at public speaking. There are always a few good speakers in the assembly, and their words carry weight with the citizens. Perpetual oratory in town-meeting, as elsewhere, is not in favor, and the man who is always jumping up and talking on subjects which he knows very little about, and in which he has no special interest, is generally looked upon as a bore and an unavoidable nuisance. When some young man, who makes his maiden speech, arises to address the assembly, the citizens give him close attention and generously applaud him. The old fellows clap their hands and say to each other, "He's smart and will be in Congress some day." But such prophecies are rarely fulfilled.

In the town-meeting much valuable time is occupied by men who have come into the assembly to air their personal grievances or to even up old scores against their neighbors. These men are citizens of the town, and must of course be heard. They do not always stand in order, nor is their language complimentary to their opponents, but the assembly takes their harangues in good nature and with kindly toleration hears them out. A debate of this kind affords much amusement, and no harm ever comes from it, since the disputants are never taken seriously. Once, in a town of my acquaintance, the town-meeting was enlivened for a number of years by a discussion of this kind between two citizens, A and B. So regularly did it occur that it became a permanent feature of the annual town-meeting. A and B got into a personal quarrel, which had finally resulted in a lawsuit between the parties. A's house was situated on a road but little used by the town, and, prompted by a desire to even up matters with his enemy, B succeeded each year for a number of years in getting inserted into the town warrant an article asking the town to discontinue the road. The article was regularly taken up and bitterly discussed by the two men, but each time the town voted not to close the road. The road is still open.

But a town-meeting quarrel, as a rule, is like a passing cloud; it is soon over. It is seldom renewed outside of the town-house.

Finally, the last article in the warrant having been disposed of, some citizen arises and addresses the chairman:

"Mr. Moderator, I *motion* that we adjourn."

"Moved and seconded that we adjourn—'tis a vote," says the moderator all in one breath.

Then the men swing on their heavy coats, pull down their caps, and file slowly out of the town-house. On the outside they loiter to review the proceedings of the day, but the crowd of village statesmen soon disperses and the town-meeting for 1906 passes into history.

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THE CORPORATION PROBLEM[1]

THERE is no doubt that just as the most conspicuous feature of the development of society in Europe and the United States on its formal or institutional side during the past half-century has been the growth of corporations, the most striking social fact to-day is the movement in the direction of bringing corporate activity under stricter State control, if not of absorbing the corporation to a large extent in the State. The idea of State ownership and operation of railways, telegraphs, and other utilities admittedly of a public nature seems to be rapidly gaining in favor, whereas only a few years ago its advocacy met slight response. Even those who view with alarm such extension of the State's sphere of action concede that some means must be devised to check the growing power of the corporation. But as to the proper course to be followed there are wide differences of opinion, arising from varying concepts on the one hand of the constitution of the corporation, on the other of the place of the corporation in society. What is emphatically needed is a clarifying of ideas concerning not simply the corporation problem, but the corporation itself. Obviously, this can be obtained only by a broad and thorough review and painstaking analysis of past as well as present corporate functioning—in other words, by a careful study of the historical evolution of the corporation.

It was the appreciation of this fact that, some ten years ago, prompted the late John P. Davis to undertake such a study. It was Dr. Davis's hope not only to follow the development of the corporation, but to make an exhaustive examination of the corporations of to-day, with particular reference to those of the United States, but ill health prevented him from dealing with contemporary phenomena in any detail. In fact, outside of the introduction and three chapters discussing respectively the nature of corporations, the legal concept of corporations, and the characteristics distinguishing modern corporations from their predecessors and those linking the new with the old, his treatise, which has been published posthumously, is essentially a survey of corporations of other days than ours—obsolete ecclesiastical organizations, guilds, colonial companies, etc. As such it is a monument to the enthusiasm with which its author approached and the industry with which he prosecuted his task. It is also highly suggestive, penetratingly analytical, and rich in information useful to the economist, jurist, and legislator; and if it is impossible wholly to agree with Dr. Davis's findings as to facts or to deem his inferences always sound, it is equally impossible to deny the value of his work as an aid to the more intelligent consideration of its important subject.

Apart from the amazingly detailed exposition of the genesis, rise, and decline of the many corporations which Dr. Davis surveys, interest centers chiefly in his concept of the corporation and in his deductions concerning the future of those corporations with which we are most intimately acquainted. In beginning, he points out that, as a general thing, criticism of corporations has gone to one of two extremes: it has been largely negative and destructive from a failure to recognize the permanent and enduring elements in corporations, or it has credited to them elements contributed by other social factors, the result being unqualified denunciation by one group of critics and extravagant approbation by another. From this confusion of ideas, the argument runs, has further resulted the condition of the body of law intended for the interpretation and enforcement of the rights and duties of corporations. In Dr. Davis's opinion the legal theory of "artificial personality" is "pernicious," and must be wholly discarded, in the case of public as well as private corporations, before the problems involved can be successfully attacked. His view of the nature of the corporation is well set forth in the

[1] *Corporations: A Study of the Origin and Development of Great Business Combinations and of Their Relation to the Authority of the State.* By John P. Davis, Ph.D. Two volumes. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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definition he offers: "A corporation is a body of persons upon whom the State has conferred such voluntarily accepted but compulsorily maintained relations to one another and to all others that as an autonomous, self-sufficient, and self-renewing body they may determine and enforce their common will, and in the pursuit of their private interest may exercise more efficiently social functions both specifically conducive to public welfare and most appropriately exercised by associated persons." Under this definition there is, strictly speaking, no room for the so-called private corporation, and it is not surprising to find the writer describing the private corporation as a contradiction in terms and insisting that it has no place in a sound organization of society. But, he continues, "the distinction between public and private functions is never easy to determine, and it is not made easier by democratic theories of society and the State; all functions have tended to reach the same level, and 'incorporation for any lawful purpose' has been freely permitted to all."

Further light on his concept of the corporation and on his view of the future of the type of corporation which predominates to-day is afforded by the emphasis he lays on the fact that corporations have been most active during periods of social growth and expansion, while organic periods of social life have witnessed the extension of the machinery of the State. As he puts it: "Society has appeared to develop its new activities during periods of transition in the framework of corporations as a kind of scaffolding or provisional structure, to be destroyed during organic periods, when the State and Church have been able to absorb, partially or wholly, the new activities and incorporate them within their own structure." This position Dr. Davis finds little difficulty in justifying by the argument from history. Of the numerous corporations considered in the earlier chapters of his book, most have gone out of existence, some have been so remodeled by the State that they have virtually lost their corporate identity, and only a few remain as survivals of a past condition of society. The modern corporation, indeed, seems to be substantially new, not merely in point of time, but of nature, and Dr. Davis does not hesitate to admit that a superficial view almost warrants a doubt whether a study of old corporations, such as he has made, is profitable as a preparation for the study of the corporations of to-day. But he immediately proceeds to show that while society has changed both in structure and activity, the function discharged by corporations is unchanged, and that "when a group of associated individuals is confirmed in its character as a group for the accomplishment of a public purpose through the pursuit by the group of private interest, the group is as much a corporation under the new definitions as it would have been under older ones." All of this leads him to the belief that the fate which has overtaken the old will overtake the new corporations. Already, as he shows, the State has in more ways than one encroached on the field of the modern corporation, and even before his manuscript was completed in 1897 the agitation in favor of "public ownership" was beginning to gain ground. So markedly was this the case that Dr. Davis could write: "It is beginning to be recognized that more government is necessary under the developed conditions now attained by society than under the comparatively simple conditions prevalent a century ago—and that such increased government has actually been provided, not by the State, but by corporations. The plain tendency in corporate life at present, in its relations to the State, is in the direction of subjection and submission to close supervision." But he warns his readers that "in history the State has never been satisfied with the mere supervision of corporations by commissions or otherwise; it would be against the teachings of history to expect that now the State will stop short of the complete absorption of the governmental features of corporations."

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Comment on Current Books

Important New Books

Among the books of evidently serious value which will be treated at some length in The Outlook at a later date may be named: the first two volumes of the definitive edition of Nicolay and Hay's "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln" (F. D. Tandy Company, New York), now enlarged with new material and with introductions and poems—in these volumes Richard Watson Gilder and President Roosevelt furnish the introductions, and the poems were written by R. H. Stoddard and Dr. Weir Mitchell; Mr. George S. Merriam's "The Negro and the Nation" (Henry Holt & Co.); "Americans of 1776," by the well-known historian Mr. James S. Schouler, and described as an original study of life and manners—social, industrial, and political—for the Revolutionary period (Dodd, Mead & Co.); "Studies in American Trade Unionism," by Dr. Jacob H. Hollender and Dr. George E. Barnett (Henry Holt & Co.); and, in fiction, Maarten Maartens's "The Healers" (Appleton), and Anne Douglas Sedgwick's "The Shadow of Life" (Century).

Descartes, His Life and Times

There still is ample room in English literature for such a work as this, commemorative of the genius who put modern philosophy on its feet, the glory of France in the seventeenth century, a star of the first magnitude amidst the clouds of stormy times. Descartes's distinction as a philosopher has eclipsed his fame as a savant of encyclopædic learning, but this volume is concerned with the man amidst his varied experiences, his struggles, vicissitudes, and friendships, quite as much as with his achievements in knowledge and in the rationalizing of thought. Miss Elizabeth S. Haldane, whose brothers, J. S. and R. B. Haldane, are well known in the learned world, has finely told the story of the honest, constructive skeptic, who freed reason from the shackles of scholasticism, who found the ground of certainty within rather than without the mind, and whose epoch-making work entitles him to rank with the foremost leaders of human thought. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $4.50, net.)

The Development of the European Nations

Another field, a struggle of another kind, and other motives appear in this volume than those exhibited in its predecessor, reviewed in The Outlook of January 6. The spirit of nationalism had done its work in State-building; the spirit of commercialism now enters to find for it in colonial enterprises an expansion impossible at home. The sanguinary struggle of European Powers in the eighteenth century for the possession of North America is succeeded by struggles for preponderance in Asia, and especially in Africa, which are prevented from becoming sanguinary only by the maintenance of twelve million soldiers to keep the rivals at peace. Dr. J. Holland Rose opens this portion of his history with a chapter looking back to his former volume, "The Triple and Dual Alliances," which secured stability to the Continental Powers as then established, while leaving the Island Power in an isolation not unattended with occasional humiliation. The scene then changes to Asia, where for forty years Great Britain strove to secure her Indian frontier against Afghan turbulence and Russian aggression. But the field of chief interest is Africa, whose occupation by various European Powers during the last two decades of the nineteenth century appeals to the historic sense as one of the most momentous events since the discovery of America. How Britain, through the strangest combination of causes, extended her sway from the mouth to the source of the Nile, and how in other portions of the continent she was enabled to cope tolerably well with Germany and France, more by the enterprise of her subjects and subordinate officials than by the sagacity and energy of her Government, is a story that runs through chapters of continuous interest. The story of the Congo Free State, initiated with high humanitarian professions, and prostituted to the ends of an inhuman commercialism, though dispassionately told, is a blasting indictment of "the weakness and cynical selfishness now prevalent in high quarters." The concluding act of the drama is played by "Russia in the Far East." While all these events are of commanding interest, Dr. Rose is more than a mere narrator of them. He exhibits their connection in the line of cause and effect. He unmasks the motives that dictate the moves of the contending parties. He is in touch with the best sources of information for the judicious criticism of events as related to policies. Hence his work is singularly valuable for an understanding of the international relations of contemporary Europe. Thankful that the Empire has survived a great crisis in spite of great blunders, he draws from it a pointed lesson for his countrymen, in whom

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he sees symptoms of that impaired morale which has been noticed also among ourselves. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.)

Excavations at Nippur Accounts have appeared from time to time during the last fifteen years of the progress made by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania in exploring the buried city of Nippur, the tomb of a civilization whose beginnings precede the traditional date of the creation of man by many centuries, not to say many millennia. The results now attained, a rich reward for the labor and cost of an enterprise most honorable to our country, are about to appear in a superb form, of which a specimen is before us. The entire work comprises some two hundred large folio pages of topographical introduction and descriptive text, abundantly illustrated with cuts and photographs, including some splendid full-page photogravures, besides many folding lithographic plates giving plans and details of the buildings. The superimposed strata that have been penetrated are shown in distinct colors, and the city itself is mapped in color. To avoid delay, the work is to appear in successive parts. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Franciscan Legends in Italian Art The humanizing effect of the preaching of St. Francis of Assisi was soon evident not only in religion but in art as well. Italian paintings reflected the change toward a more human interpretation of Christianity which followed the influence of St. Francis. Moreover, the legends of St. Francis provided new subjects for painters. Emma Gurney Salter discusses in this volume, which is somewhat in the form of an inventory with comments, the pictures which are thus related to the saint. Three pages of hints for travelers, a bibliography, a table of painters, and an index add to the usefulness of the volume as a sort of guide-book in its subject. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50, net.)

The Great Refusal This novel is by "Maxwell Gray," whose first book, "The Silence of Dean Maitland," remains the best of her half-dozen or so works of fiction. The title is suggested by the Scriptural story of the rich young man who went away sorrowful; and here a modern young man, whose father's riches have been made by indefensible though common commercial methods, hesitates between the woman who loves him deeply, but not enough to marry him if he renounces his father's wealth, and an honest desire to fight for humanity in his own way and with clean hands. This is a fine theme, and the spirit in which it is approached is admirable. But as a novel the book needs compression and better proportion, while the exposition of the methods of an imagined altruistic and renunciatory Brotherhood, with which it closes, injures the story as such, without convincing the reader intellectually that the plan is workable. The best thing in the novel is the rapid-fire exchange of sociological epigrams and paradoxes between a group of Oxford undergraduates with which the story opens. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The Gospel in the Gospels The former publications of Professor W. P. Du Bose, of the University of the South at Sewanee, have raised high expectations, which are justified in this his latest work. "The Gospel in the Gospels" is their revelation of God in humanity, and of humanity in God. Christianity is described "in its largest sense to be the fulfillment of God in the world through the fulfillment of the world in God." In this three stages are marked—(1) the gospel of the earthly life of Jesus, the common humanity; (2) the gospel of the resurrection, expressive of the new power communicated by Jesus as the conqueror and destroyer of sin and death; (3) the gospel of the incarnation, presenting the work wrought by Jesus as no mere act of an exceptional humanity, but a work of God fulfilling and completing himself in humanity. These three stages constitute the main divisions of the work. As to the first, Dr. Du Bose sees far more than common humanity in the humanity of Jesus, as a perfect representation both of sonship to God and of the fatherhood of God. As to the second, the death and resurrection of Jesus is, in a purely spiritual view, "the supreme act of faith by which humanity first completely realized itself in God." "Without these it is a great question how much of either Gospel or Gospels there would have been at all." As to the third, the perfect power of Jesus' humanity thus to fulfill itself, and to impart that power to all humanity, reveals in him what transcends humanity. The Pauline saying, "God was in Christ," is accepted, in view of the universal immanence of God, by many who part company in its interpretation. In adopting its ancient and orthodox interpretation Dr. Du Bose relies more on the consensus of Christian consciousness than on the narratives of the virgin birth. These he frankly terms "myths," "pictures," and yet conformable to the inexplicable reality underlying. He holds that Jesus, as son of Joseph and Mary, would be simply an individual man. But he is *man*, not *a* man, and this universality of his humanity can

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come only of a divine paternity. Such logic will go further with the believer than with the doubter, who may rejoin to the subsidiary appeal to apostolic testimony that conceptions quite compatible with St. Paul's cosmology do not square so well with our truer cosmology. The strength of Dr. Du Bose's exposition of the heart of the Gospel is in the warm spiritual life that pervades it, the high level of thought on which it moves, the broad humanity of it all, and its perceptions of larger truth than is expressed in the creeds which it is concerned to maintain. "If God," says he, "is ever to be spiritually and personally in the world at all, it will be only through the Son of man; that is to say, through the growing divinity of man." (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50, net.)

The Jeffersonian System

With this volume Professor Edward Channing carries the "American Nation" serial history from the beginning of Jefferson's first Presidential term to the outbreak of the War of 1812. Thus the period allotted to him is brief, but a great deal of importance transpired during its scant dozen years; so much, in fact, that it is not surprising to find that Dr. Channing has adopted the topical rather than the chronological method. This, of course, gives his contribution somewhat less of unity than most of its predecessors; and, this particular period having already been thoroughly sifted, it has been impossible for him to display any marked originality. But he has, generally speaking, succeeded in investing the well-known facts with a fresh interest. His pages are rich in acute analysis, suggestive comment, and clear-cut portraiture; his style is lucid, direct, and dignified, his tone judicial. In particular he gives an excellent account of the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and the Jeffersonian domestic and foreign policy, although his survey of the preliminaries of the War of 1812 would have been improved by greater emphasis on the significance of the struggle between England and France. He is perhaps least satisfactory in dealing with the Tripolitan War and the Aaron Burr conspiracy, on neither of which does he bestow sufficient attention. His volume includes the usual bibliographical essay which is such a strong feature of this co-operative work. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $2, net.)

Men and Things

A volume of humorous selections which has upon it the *imprimatur* of Mark Twain as editor could hardly fail to be good. There are famous bits from John Phœnix (Derby), Artemus Ward, and Josh Billings; these and other passages from the older American humorists are noticeably, and we think advisedly, brief; while the longer selections from Howells, Aldrich, and the moderns (relatively speaking) are thoroughly enjoyable. A few little-known writers are included. Mark Twain explains in an autograph preface that the selections from his own works were put in by his associate editors, adding that this explains why there are not more of them. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Physical Nature of the Child

The familiar saying, "A sound mind in a sound body," suggests the dependence of mental and moral upon physical conditions. Is a child dull, weak, backward, troublesome, in any way at all abnormal? Probably there is a physical cause, and proper investigation will discover it. Such investigation must have regard not only to the physical nature of the child in various particulars, but also to the conditions of the home and of the school as affecting it. This volume by Dr. Stuart H. Rowe, of the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers, is an admirable guide in this line of work both for teachers and parents. It has been warmly commended by educators at the head of their profession. The need of work in the line which this book opens up is unquestionably urgent. (The Macmillan Company, New York. 90c.)

The Problem of the Old Testament

Once in every ten years the trustees of Lake Forest University, Illinois, are empowered to offer a valuable prize for the best work in the interest of "the religion of the Bible, etc." This prize was offered for the first time in 1902, and in 1905 the committee of award—Professors Ladd, of Yale, Ormond, of Princeton, and Wright, of Oberlin—adjudged the prize of six thousand dollars to the author of this work, Professor James Orr. Dr. Orr, whose special department in the University of Glasgow is apologetics and systematic theology, holds that the methods and results of the Biblical criticism now predominant are so thoroughly erroneous as to threaten the subversion of Christian faith. This conviction has moved him to present in this volume the most comprehensive and elaborate arraignment of them that has yet appeared, but irenic in tone toward the Christian scholars who dissent from him. Fully three-fourths of his work are devoted to criticism of the reigning critical view of the Pentateuch. The documentary theory of this, as generally accepted, he rejects, holding to the unity and relative antiquity of "the book," whose "*plan* . . . must have been laid down

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early by one mind, or different minds working together, while the memory of the great patriarchal traditions was still fresh, and the impressions of the stupendous deliverance from Egypt . . . were yet recent and vivid." On the other hand, his admission of "very evident signs of different pens and styles, of editorial redaction, of stages of compilation" down to the time of Ezra is at a far remove from the traditional view, and apparently incompatible with the orthodox theory of an inerrant book. The only criticism for which there is room here concerns Dr. Orr's starting-point. The Pentateuch presents both a literary and a religious problem. Which must we begin with? Dr. Orr says, the religious; the literary problem depends upon it. This seems quite at variance with the scientific and only safe method—the inductive, which by criticism of the literature reaches conclusions as to the religion. *E.g.*, in Joshua we read of the slaughter of Achan's entire family with him for his sin. In Deuteronomy we read that no one is to be punished for a sin not his own. Hence we conclude that, though Deuteronomy precedes Joshua, it was written later: it shows proof of a growing revelation. Dr. Orr rejects the view that man's natural psychical development is the vehicle of divine revelation. He conceives of this as "special," and as supernaturally conveyed from outside the man. But, as he truly says, "everything in the critical discussion . . . depends on the presuppositions with which we start." This is the presupposition which carries him into collision with the Christian scholars in whose view of the immanence of God everything is supernatural, while everything is natural. The multitudinous points taken by Dr. Orr against the prevailing critical opinions present to the unlearned reader a formidable array. He will need to bethink himself that the learned majority from whom Dr. Orr dissents can hardly be ignorant of his reasons, and must have seen more formidable difficulties in the way of accepting them. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The Quickening More than usual skill in analysis of motive and description of complex character is to be found in this tale of modern life by Francis Lynde. As has become the fashion, business figures largely in the romance. The hero, a sensitive boy, under the compelling influence of his mother, a narrowly religious woman, begins his life as an unconscious hypocrite, if there be such a thing. How he frees himself from these conventional fetters, yet never drifts away from the strong foundation principles of his training, is remarkably indicated by the author. The heroine is a true and charming woman, while the supporting characters are all well drawn. An excellent story. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.50.)

Randvar the Songsmith This story by Ottilie A. Liljencrantz is a well-sustained romance set in the time when the Norsemen occupied America in fabled Norumbega. Randvar, the son of Freya, a dweller in the forest and a friend of the native Indian, by chance becomes the confidant of the Norse chieftain Helvin, and after many adventures is given the right to win the Jarl's sister in marriage. The Jarl suffers paroxysms of insanity, being controlled by the fearsome werewolf, and this tragic shadow darkens his life and that of his trusted friend. The story is well told, and as a pure romance is well worth reading. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Sankey's Story of the Gospel Hymns Mr. Ira D. Sankey, long associated with the evangelistic work of Mr. Moody, and now living in Brooklyn, retired and totally blind, here tells the simple but stirring story of his life and work. The larger part of the volume is devoted to brief narratives of the circumstances occasioning the composition and the incidents connected with the use of very many of the "Gospel Hymns" so effective in Mr. Sankey's "singing the Gospel" which Mr. Moody preached. Whittier was criticised for driving his Muse roughly in his anti-slavery poems, and the "Gospel Hymns" are often defective in literary form; but they were written, not to be read, but to be sung to music that opened the heart to their message. Their story as told here, with Mr. Sankey's story of his experience, is one that touches and grips the heart. (The Sunday School Times Company, Philadelphia. 75c., net. Postage, 10c.)

Sicily Perhaps no country seizes upon the imagination more than does Sicily, for it seems to combine Italian natural charms with Greek historic associations. The guide-book prepared by the late Augustus J. C. Hare has now been published in a revised edition by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, the author of "King Robert the Wise." The author's great fund of information is presented in compact style, as is of course desirable for a small volume which one can carry in the pocket. The style might have been made somewhat clearer, however—especially with regard to ambiguity in the use of relative pronouns—without any necessity of increasing the text. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1, net.)

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Social Theories and Social Facts

It is unfortunate that the author of this book, William Morton Grinnell, by his assumptions, extravagancies, and inaccuracies, not to say errors, impairs the worth of a work which contains some very valuable suggestions. As an illustration of his false assumptions, take this sentence:

> If there are men with vast fortunes, they or their fathers have earned them by their superior ability, thrift, and industry, and they have earned them honestly (this we must acknowledge), or otherwise we stultify ourselves and admit that we have not executed, and do not execute, the elementary criminal laws.

In fact, many of the large fortunes have been made either by operations which are not illegal, or by sagacity in securing possession, and sometimes monopolizing control, of wholly unearned wealth which under a right social system would inure to the benefit of all the people. As an example of his extravagancies, take what is implied in this sentence:

> It is no answer to say that we would elect our functionaries and rulers as we do now, for what influence has the average citizen now in municipal, State, or Federal government?

The average citizens have overthrown the corrupt rings in Minneapolis, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and New York, and can always overthrow corruption in government, municipal, State, or Federal, whenever they are aroused and determined. As an illustration of palpable error, take this sentence:

> The level maintained in and by a union must be the intelligence and ability of the slowest and stupidest, and the tendency naturally is to reduce this level.

In fact, labor is more able and intelligent in those industries in which it is organized than in those in which it is unorganized, and in the organized industries union labor generally turns out products superior to those turned out by non-union labor. To suppose, as our author does, that a small percentage of workers, and these the slowest and stupidest, can control not only the great mass of workers who are quicker and more intelligent, but also the whole community, is a supposition so violent as to be wholly incredible. The chief value in Mr. Grinnell's book is that it points out the difference between political and industrial socialism, and in so doing emphasizes both the true function and the real value of the corporation as a contrivance for the distribution of wealth:

> The Standard Oil Company when first organized had forty-five stockholders; in 1901 it had four thousand, and now has more. The Sugar Trust when first organized in 1885 had not over three hundred owners. It now has about twelve thousand shareholders or owners.

One purpose of bringing these corporations under Government supervision and subjecting all their operations to Government investigation is to make them more effective as distributers of wealth by making it safe for men of small means to invest in them. To make effective industrial socialism, which Mr. Grinnell commends, that Government supervision and control which he erroneously calls "socialism in part" is absolutely indispensable. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1, net.)

The Unrealized Logic of Religion

This volume by a British author, Dr. W. H. Fitchett, embodies an argument of invincible strength. The "logic" it exhibits is the logic of correspondence, such as is shown in the exact fitting together of the ragged edges of a torn card. Such logic verifies the great truths of religion by showing their correspondence with the great realities of human nature and experience, and the intimations of the physical universe. Pursuing this "study of credibilities" through the fields of history, of science, of philosophy, of literature, of spiritual life, and of common life, Dr. Fitchett presses it against materialism, atheism, and agnosticism with cumulative force. Such an argument may be pressed too far, in neglect of the distinction required between a religious truth and a particular form of presenting it. Then the argument fails to convince, as occasionally it fails here. But, for the most part, Dr. Fitchett carries it through admirably. (Eaton & Mains, New York. $1.25, net.)

What is Religion? and Other Student Questions

This volume consists of a series of five talks to college students by Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He approaches religious questions not only from the student but from the scientific student point of view. This is a point which, unfortunately, the Church still but little understands, and, misunderstanding, dreads. We wish that this unpretending little volume could be read and pondered by all preachers, especially by those who have any of the student class in their congregation, and we wish that the second address, "What is Religion?" could be printed in a tract form and circulated through college Young Men's Christian Associations. Its text is full of suggestions as to the real mind of the scientific student of to-day: "But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers." The student class is not infidel; it is not, in the proper sense of that term, skeptical; but it is too independent to take ready-made convictions, and too serious-minded and earnest to make-believe believe. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1, net.)

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Letters to The Outlook

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

The answers to your questions regarding woman suffrage, on page 335 of The Outlook (February 17), are plain and simple:

(1) Suffrage is both a National right and a special duty.

(2) Persons vote, not property nor families; but those who by industry and self-denial have accumulated property have a right to be protected from those who have not practiced such industry and self-denial, and who would live as parasites upon society.

(3) The individual is the unit of the State; the unmarried woman should have the same place in the State as the unmarried man.

(4) Suffrage is both a privilege and a burden—a privilege which all should share and a burden which all should bear. The military argument has been worn threadbare. Woman bears a large share of military duty in the hospital; if this is not enough, then so much the more should she share the burden of the ballot. CHARLES E. THORNE.

Wooster, Ohio.

THE NEXT QUARTER-CENTURY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR

In The Outlook of January 13 Dr. Clark, in his article "A Quarter-Century of Christian Endeavor," lays much emphasis upon the numerical growth of the organization. This numerical growth, however, may be wrongly interpreted. The external features of the movement attracted widespread attention. The reduction of the somewhat complex problem of Christian living to a few simple rules satisfied the less thoughtful. Above all, the recognition, after long waiting, of the value of young manhood and womanhood in the service of Christ and the Church sufficiently explains this phenomenal growth. The success of the movement proves that there is a place in the Church of Christ for a young people's movement; it does not prove that the young people's movement as we know it is filling that place.

After a quarter of a century it becomes evident that Christian Endeavor has not learned to adjust itself to present and changing conditions. The result is that as the young people of the passing generation are nearing middle life their enthusiasm is not being duplicated by the youth of to-day—and it is not the young people's fault.

Externalities can attract, but they cannot hold and continue to inspire the Christian enthusiasm of successive and ever-growing generations. In societies that were organized during the early days of the movement and in which the young people have advanced in Christian culture there is a decline of enthusiasm, for the old standard no longer inspires their loyalty. In societies where there has not been this advance in Christian culture there is lack of virility, for the old standard has not been outgrown. The cause of this condition is twofold. First, too little attention has been given to the adjustment of the local society to local conditions. It is time for us to break away from our bondage to international systems of Christian work and training. Alliance with world-wide interests need not involve world-wide simultaneous action or universal conformity of method. When not in accord with the highest degree of efficiency, it is merely a matter of sentiment. There should be finer adjustment (1) as to aim—each local society should subordinate itself to the needs of the local church; (2) as to organization, only that degree of organization should be permitted which is in direct proportion to the demand of efficiency which grows out of necessity.

A second cause of the present state of decline is a wrong conception of the nature of the Christian life. The Endeavor pledge names three activities which the Christian is to make "rules" of his life, and further asks the young Christian to promise to perform three duties. Why all this legislation? Why this elevation, or rather degradation, of one or two ways by which the new life finds self-expression from a natural impulse to a test of discipleship? Can we expect the thinking, growing young Christian to regard year after year the Christian life as conformity to rules rather than loyalty to moral convictions, and always to test the reality of that life by its verbal expression?

Even if these requirements could be kept, which, as a matter of fact, they are not, and consequently thousands of promises are broken each week, should not our young people advance beyond these legalistic conceptions?

What conception are our young people gaining of the sanctity of a pledge, and what of the mystical beauty of the life that is hid with Christ in God? Christ did not say, "If ye love me, keep my commandments," but, "If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments." The time is coming, yea, is now at hand, when the Christian life will be regarded more generally as the natural and normal life, and the expression of Christian experi-

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ence the natural expression of the heart, not manifesting itself exclusively or primarily in public testimony, but in all the varied activities of life.

Professor George E. How has recently said that the new theology is an attitude, not a doctrine. And this attitude is part of a larger movement, the scientific genius of our time. In the realm of religion it insists that all the dealings of God with man are grounded in personality, and that therefore all our apprehensions of these dealings can and should be expressed in terms of reality. With the growth of this conception, with the passage, as Dean Hodges has said, "from a religion of authority to a religion of the spirit, free, glad, and comprehensive," all efforts to impose upon our young people obligations to other than the truth as it awakens moral response stand condemned. That alone is the voice of Christ. Moreover, it becomes increasingly necessary for us to charge our young people to give utterance only to spiritual realities and only when they are realities. We would not sound a retreat. We cannot abandon our young people's movement. But if we continue upon the present basis, no forward movement will be possible. Unless we emancipate our young people and teach them to enter into the "glorious liberty of the children of God," either they will break their own chains and lapse into a false freedom, not learning that there is a "law of liberty," or, remaining in bondage, theirs will be the "spirit of bondage to fear" and not the "spirit of adoption by which we cry, Abba, Father."

H. S. M.

HOWARD CROSBY CLASSICAL LIBRARY FUND

February 27 marked the eightieth birthday of the late Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby. The effort is now making to perpetuate, in a modest way, the memory of one of New York's noblest sons, a man active, scholarly, virile, cheering the weak and weary, self-forgetful. It may be appropriate to recall that he was Professor of Greek in New York University and at Rutgers, Chancellor of the former (1870-81), founder of the Greek Club (December 30, 1857), one of the Company of Revisers of the translation of the New Testament, President of the Association for the Prevention of Crime, ever a fearless champion of what was righteous and wholesome. It is now proposed to gather a modest sum, say of two thousand dollars, to found the Howard Crosby Classical Literary Fund, the income of which is to be applied to the strengthening of the Classical Library of the University. The acquisition (in 1902) of the Hübner Classical Collection from Berlin has provided an exceptionally well balanced nucleus of a classical library, which is to be extended by the proposed memorial. Contributions, whether great or small, may be sent to Professor E. G. Sihler or to Professor William E. Waters, University Heights, New York City.

READING MATTER FOR PANAMA

Relative to the letter from Mr. Van Breisen, in your February issue, asking for reading matter for the hospitals on the Isthmus, I would say that I have already received some for that purpose, and a good deal of comfort could be added to the life of the Americans on the Isthmus if magazines and books were sent as follows: Director of Hospitals, Ancon, Canal Zone (for Ancon Hospital and Taboga Sanitarium); Superintendent, Colon Hospital, Colon, Canal Zone; Culebra Hospital, Culebra, Canal Zone; Gorgona Hospital, Gorgona, Canal Zone; Empire Hospital, Empire, Canal Zone; Miraflores Hospital, Miraflores, Canal Zone.

Ancon, Colon, and Miraflores are all large or full-sized hospitals. Taboga Sanitarium is a convalescent hospital, almost exclusively for Americans. Culebra, Gorgona, and Empire, especially the latter one, are small.

C. H. R. CARTER,
Director of Hospitals.
Isthmian Canal Commission,
Ancon, Canal Zone.

[The Traffic Manager of the Panama Railroad Company, Mr. R. L. Walker, informs us that the Company kindly undertakes to forward from New York to the Isthmus, free of charge, packages of reading matter properly packed for transportation. Packages should be marked "Reading Matter for Hospitals," and sent to the Panama Railroad Company, Pier 57, North River, New York City, and the charges to New York must be prepaid.—THE EDITORS.]

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